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THE news of the past week has clouded rather than clarified the vision which Americans are allowed to obtain of the political situation in England. After the publication of the Lansdowne letter there was for many days every appearance of a cleavage in English public opinion as to the best method of winning the war, but if such a cleavage actually existed, it was promptly suppressed. Although Mr. Asquith made a speech which, according to the report transmitted to this country, apparently sustained Lord Lansdowne, the report was so meager that Americans have no means of estimating properly its full meaning and effect. Subsequently the Premier also spoke, but while his speech was much more fully reported than that of Mr. Asquith, it was also only a mutilated version which reached this country. The cabled passages, however, justify one inference. Mr. Lloyd George did not speak with his usual buoyancy and assurance. He referred to the Lansdowne letter in words which implied that conflicting interpretations had been placed upon it by its opponents and its supporters, and that this conflict had been in some way patched up. But his own comments were not those of a man who is confident of the invincibility of his own position. He indignantly and properly dismissed the idea of "peace overtures to Prussia," which Lord Lansdowne had been falsely accused of proposing. Yet he himself neither repudiated nor promised nor attempted a new definition of the war aims of the British Empire. He contented himself merely with announcing his adhesion to the spirit and letter of President Wilson's program.

MANIFESTLY the present attitude of Lloyd George is rendered insecure by such equivocations and cannot be sustained for long. He can either yield to Lord Lansdowne and follow the President's example in associating with the demand for victory a fresh and independent statement of what his country is now fighting for. Or he can follow the example of certain members of his own Cabinet in accepting Clemenceau's assertion that there is no need of defining any war aim except victory. Whichever alternative be adopted he will lose some of his present supporters and force them into more or less open opposition to the government. But surely it is better to pay even a high price for a policy with some momentum than to drift along as at present on a current of evasion. If he really accepts Mr. Wilson's leadership he is under some obligation to express his agreement not only in words but in independent action. If, on the other hand, he has misgivings about the Wilson program, as he very well may, those differences should be submitted to discussion and negotiation. A firm agreement on essentials could undoubtedly be reached. In order to succeed in their great and hazardous undertaking the two countries need a unity of action based upon a complete unity of political purpose.

"ARMISTICE" appears to be a misnomer for the arrangement that has been effected between the Bolsheviki and the Germans. It might better be designated as a separate peace, executed in blank. Within broad limits the Germans may later write in such terms as they please.

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Imagine that the Germans insisted upon terms that the Bolsheviki could not accept: what would remain for them but to retire from office and leave the odium of acceptance to a body of equally transient successors? After Germans and Russians have been permitted to fraternize, from the Baltic to Rumania, "from sunrise to sunset, no more than twenty-five persons participating at a time," it will be all but impossible to reconstitute, on the Russian side, an effective fighting force. Even the Germans would have little enthusiasm for exterminating their late hosts or guests, but German discipline could make them choke down their qualms. The agreement further provides that the troops may "carry on trade in the exchange of articles of prime necessity." This means that if there are any surplus food supplies behind the Russian lines, there is nothing to prevent the Germans from getting them. For months the only material contribution of Russia to the Allied cause has been the check placed by the Russian army upon the flow of Russian food to Germany. Even this assistance to the Allies is now withdrawn. The current of trade that the Germans will be able to set in motion will doubtless be strong enough to break any barriers that Russia may set up if the peace negotiations fail.

IT was inevitable that the work of the Food Controller should be subjected to Congressional inquiry not uniformly friendly in spirit. The food administration is responsible for a work of extreme difficulty and complexity, involving the reconciliation of all manner of discordant interests. The consumer wants cheap food, the producer wants high prices, the middleman wants his usual profits, and each party, in making concessions to the common good, is suspicious that the other parties are not making equivalent concessions. Mr. Hoover is expected to provide for the equitable distribution of supplies among the several parts of our own country and between our country and the countries allied with us. Austria and Hungary, although fighting shoulder to shoulder, are constantly at strife over a similar problem of distribution; are we to imagine that Mr. Hoover can perform this function without exciting a modicum of sectional and national discontent? Mr. Hoover is expected to evoke the maximum production of foodstuffs, something that implies prices high enough to cover the costs of the less efficient producers and to yield profits to the more efficient. But can he fix such prices without arousing complaint of profiteering? Congress might have removed this source of suspicion by imposing more drastic profits taxes. Mr. Hoover cannot remove it. Success in food administration can not be attained through restrictive policies alone. If Mr. Hoover is to do his work, he must secure the active coöperation of producers, some of whom have been parties to combinations, and more of whom have reaped profits and are reaping profits. Does this not inevitably excite discontent? And yet the detractors of Mr. Hoover are making no headway at all with the public. The vast majority of Americans trust Mr. Hoover implicitly. They have full confidence in his ability to administer our national food supply as well as it can be administered. No one can charge Mr. Hoover with inefficiency or lack of patriotism without raising against himself a terrible presumption of crooked motives. Our democracy may have many shortcomings, but it knows its great men well.

SECRETARY BAKER has justified the confidence of his friends and well-wishers by beginning the long needed and indispensable reorganization of the War Department. At this moment it is too soon to attempt any description or criticism of the nature and scope of his changes, but they are unquestionably intended to cure real and grave weaknesses in the existing personnel and organization. The business of the several bureaus needs to be confided to chiefs who are not so hardened to the routine of administering an army during peace, and some method needs to be devised of coördinating the work of the several bureaus. The appointment of a man such as General Goethals as Quartermaster General and the organization of a new War Council composed of the former bureau chiefs both look in the right direction. But one cannot help questioning what relation the new War Council will bear to the General Staff. This council of bureau chiefs is apparently intended to undertake the very work of supervision and coördination which in foreign armies is performed by the General Staff. Where will the brain of the army really be situated?

WHEN the history of American participation in the war comes to be written, and full credit bestowed upon the various agencies which have been most useful in organizing support in American opinion for the fighting policy of the government, the Red Cross will be entitled to a large share of the credit. The Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A. between them have brought to the assistance of the country a truly staggering amount of voluntary effort and resources—an amount which is honorable alike to the people who have made the gifts and the organization of men and women which has aroused them to the need of contributions and which is putting the money and the labor to such good uses. This organization is enabling millions of American citizens, who otherwise would only be able

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to share in the war in some remote or vicarious way, to make their contributions personal and direct, and in making them feel that they are doing something to ameliorate the awful suffering and destruction necessarily caused by the war. It is providing a kind of war propaganda which will help the American people not only to fight with more unity and stability of purpose, but which will help them after the fighting is over to form a better nation.

ADVOCATES of universal military training are justified in carrying on their propaganda, in so far as their action does not hamper the government in its immediate business of making war. They have a right to draw such lessons from current events as appear to them sound, and to enforce these lessons upon the public mind. But they make themselves ridiculous when they charge with pacifism an administration that assumed responsibility for war, merely because it does not regard the present as an opportune time for legislative action on the question. Probably many more Americans believe in universal military training than was the case three years ago. It is conceivable that the outcome of the war may be such that practically all loyal citizens would vote for universal training. The nation has not, however, had any opportunity of indicating whether or not it favors the system, even in principle. And if the nation favored universal military training in principle, there would still remain for the legislators an enormous labor of devising a plan suitable to the requirements of the community. Shall we have the Swiss plan, or the French, or the Prussian? Or shall we devise a peculiarly American plan? Congress has more pressing work to do than to debate projects involving so many complicating elements. After all, there is no reason for feverish haste in deciding the question. The security of the country against invasion is already assured for some years to come by the trained men our present armies are providing.

THE state railway commissions ought to be assured that the establishment by the federal government of a railway dictatorship will not mean their elimination, any more than it will mean the elimination of the private organizations by which the railways are now run. To be successful a railway dictatorship needs the services of the personnel of the commissions, federal and state, as well as those of the railway personnel. The immediate need is the unification of all the interests that in time of peace often work at cross purposes. It is in the national interest that the interests of the states should be protected, in so far as such interests comport with those of the nation. The state railway commissions have the experience qualifying them to represent the state interests before the national railway administration. Some of their powers they will have to forfeit. They will no longer be in a position to hold down intra-state rates when the times require a general advance. They will no longer be in a position to compel train service where the traffic does not justify such service in time of war. But under unified national control the states will run less danger that their desires will be overruled than that their legitimate needs will be overlooked. The state railway commissions are worth preserving, as sources of information as to local requirements and originators of suggestions as to methods of providing for local needs.

MR. VANDERLIP, national director of the war savings stamp department of the United States Treasury, was in Chicago one day last week. He brought precepts and example with him. "This is a time when we must cut expenses to the bone," he told the Chicago Evening Post. "Young men who spend money for flowers, candy, theatres and other luxuries for their best girls; people who give rich dinners and decorate their homes lavishly for entertainments; all who buy things today that they can do without, are allies of the Kaiser." Mr. Vanderlip, the same newspaper says, "gave the foregoing opinion as he alighted from his private car at the Union Station"—said car being the "luxurious private car" which "carries him about the country in his crusade for economy." And the next day a Chicago paper ran a Washington dispatch saying that the fuel administration, as a means of saving coal, was "planning to take steps to bring about the cutting down of suburban steam railroad passenger service during the non-rush hours in Chicago and other large cities." Altogether, Mr. Vanderlip gave Chicago so much food for thought as to suggest the need of a food-for-thought administrator.

The Coming German Offensive

THE existing military situation is justifiably causing a great deal of apprehension. It is dominated by one fact of huge and still incalculable importance—the fact of the final dissolution for all practical purposes of the Russian army. The Russians have ceased to fight and in all probability they will not fight again. Little by little the whole German munition and man power can be concentrated in the west, and this fact will not only indefinitely increase the German power of resistance, but it will apparently enable the German High Com-

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mand to resume the offensive on the western front.

There is probably a great deal of unnecessary pessimism and apprehension in the prevailing attitude towards this increasing offensive power of the German army. But in one respect it anticipates the truth. The German High Command will probably have the troops and the munitions to resume the initiative whenever conditions are favorable; and as soon as conditions are favorable they can be counted on to take advantage of this opportunity. But conditions are not favorable now. They cannot begin a sustained attack on any part of the front with a sufficient chance of success until the winter is at least on the wane, and they cannot for several months move the forty divisions, which would be required to drive such an attack home. The cessation of fighting in the east has already had the effect in the west of enabling the Germans to increase their guns, munitions, air service, and the number of their officers. It has also increased the aggressiveness of their routine fighting. But if it has placed at their disposal the resources indispensable for a major offensive, those resources will not be available until the spring.

The danger, however, is not the less real because it is the less imminent. If they have the resources, as apparently they have, the Germans will have every reason to attack early in the spring; and the attack, wherever it falls, will have to be resisted by the French and British armies practically without the coöperation of American troops. The American army will be unable to render substantial if any assistance until towards the fall of 1918. It will be prevented from doing so both by the lack of sufficient tonnage and by the backwardness of American military preparations. The English and the French Staffs are apparently reconciled to this fact and are willing and able to resist the attack, but if they cannot be reenforced to any considerable extent by American troops, they should be able to count on the maximum American coöperation in supplies. Inasmuch as they are able to fight and may be obliged to resist one of the most formidable attacks of the war, they certainly have a prior claim on any raw materials, munitions and food which are necessary to the highest efficiency of their armies, and which can be furnished by the American government.

Manifestly, however, the situation demands further preparations and sacrifices on the part of the American nation. No matter how much we may hope for the making of an honorable peace some time during 1918, it would be folly not to recognize that the prospects of obtaining such a peace have been very much injured by the Russian surrender. The war may well have to be fought through 1919, and if it is to be fought through 1919 an increasing share of the military burden of that year will have to be assumed by the American army. Instead of preparing, as the War Department has been doing, to place and keep about thirty divisions at the front, it will be necessary to place and keep not less than double that number in France by the early spring of 1919, and plans to that effect will have to be made during the coming winter. It will mean the calling, the training and the equipment of an additional million soldiers, an enlargement and extension of the ship building program and a completer mobilization of American energy for war work than any which has yet been attempted. Such an increase in the scope of American military preparation is not only indispensable, considering the probable wear and tear which the French and British armies will suffer as a consequence of a German attack, but it would be of positive military benefit to those armies during the fighting of the coming summer. The knowledge that in 1919 they would have to face a fresh, vigorous well trained and well equipped army of over a million effectives would compel the Germans to consider more carefully how far they could afford during the campaign of 1918 to exhaust their already depleted supplies of men.

In the meantime, the attack to be feared in the near future is not military but political. The rumor of an immediately impending attack was manufactured in Germany for the purpose of creating on public opinion in the Allied countries an impression of an unconquerable and inexhaustible military prowess. If German propaganda could create such an impression, it would provide an atmosphere in which definite and insidious peace proposals could be submitted to the Allied nations without any appearance of weakness. The Germans do not expect peace this winter, but for the sake of strengthening the moral endurance of their own people, and if possible of undermining that of their enemies, they wish to attach to their opponents the odium of rejecting peace terms, which wear the appearance of constituting a fair compromise. If by any remote chance the terms were accepted, they would emerge from the war with something of the feeling of being victorious and with something of the prestige of having proved themselves invincible against a coalition of the world. If, as is almost certain, the terms are rejected, the German government could appeal to its own people for renewed support on the ostensible ground that the Allies reject all offers, no matter how conciliatory and fair, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the subjugation of the German nation. Thus the government expects to reenforce the defense psychology of its people and to provide them with the moral vitality necessary to pull them through a gloomy and depressing

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winter and another summer of grinding sacrifices and losses. If the Allies under President Wilson's leadership will only take precautions against this political offensive, as effectual as those which they are taking against the military offensive, they can meet the former with a confidence no less justified than that with which they meet the latter.

Breaking the Labor Truce

ONE of the striking facts in America's organization for war has been the intimate relation between the government and the leaders of organized labor. Negotiations are carried on with responsible union officials, standards are established and agreements are effected, which govern labor conditions on war work from coast to coast. The policy of the administration is that of "recognition of the union" and "collective bargaining." All this has been in tune with the mature advice of official British representatives, who have repeatedly emphasized the fact that it was only by encouraging and fostering the growth of strong and responsible labor organizations, that England had been able to allay the disrupting threat of unorganized Bolshevikism. In the larger strategy of America's military preparations, this enlightened policy toward organized labor is entitled to a major position.

Nevertheless the Supreme Court of the United States delivered, last week, what can only be construed as a frontal attack on organized labor, an attack which can only have been designed to undermine its strength and threaten its very existence. A federal judge, in 1913, issued an injunction against officials of the United Mine Workers, forbidding them to unionize the "Panhandle" coal district of West Virginia. It was conceded that the union officials used no violent means, that there was no picketing, even peaceful, and no attempt at coercive boycotts—all that the union did was to send organizers into the district to hold public meetings, enroll men in the union, and set forth the advantages of labor organization, all with the object of extending the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers to the district. This injunction the Supreme Court (Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Clark dissenting) has sustained, the court holding in effect that efforts of organized labor to compel an employer to recognize the union, and to accept the principle of collective bargaining, are illegal, a violation of the policy of the common law, and subject to restraint by injunction.

The decision will go far to aggravate what has been perhaps the most serious single factor in the labor situation in America, as in the Allied countries —the suspicion of workingmen that the war, with the appeal to patriotic sacrifice, would be used as an opportunity for strengthening capital and undermining labor. In times of peace, the Supreme Court's decision would have caused a national sensation; last week President Gompers's protest against it passed almost unnoticed. Yet the court, in denying the right to unionize by threat of strike, denied the weapon through which alone organized labor has been able to attain its present influence. The decision will, moreover, confirm the popular feeling, already strengthened by recent constitutional decisions, that a majority of the Supreme Court are endeavoring to enforce their own reactionary views of public policy, in direct opposition to the more enlightened views prevailing in legislatures and among the public. For there was no statute, and no binding precedent, to justify the decision. It was derived solely from the court's conception of the policy of the law, from its judgment of the proper balance of interests in an industrial conflict. Finally, the decision will encourage the complaint that there is one law for capital and another law for labor; for it so happened that the employer in whose favor the court issued the injunction was himself compelling his men to boycott the union. As Mr. Justice Brandeis points out in his dissenting opinion, "If it is coercion to threaten to strike unless plaintiff consents to a closed union shop; it is coercion also to threaten not to give one employment unless the applicant will consent to a closed non-union shop."

In breaking the spirit of the labor truce by which the administration had agreed not to relax labor standards during the war, unless necessary for efficiency, the Supreme Court has placed on the President and on Congress the burden of taking some affirmative step to redress the balance, and to restore to organized labor the security which has been undermined. The Clayton Act, glowing as were the promises which were made to organized labor on the strength of it, cannot be relied upon. If the much heralded labor sections of that statute were ever designed by those who framed them to do more than restate existing law, this design has already been frustrated by a clear intimation of the Supreme Court in a decision rendered last June, in the Paine Lumber Company case. While the decision went on another ground, the opinions indicated clearly that a majority of the court were ready to rule that the labor sections of the Clayton Act had not changed the Sherman Law or the common law. An act of Congress clearly defining the position of labor unions, limiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and legalizing such labor union activities as those involved in the United Mine Workers' case, is therefore necessary; and in view of the effect which the Supreme Court's de-

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cision may have on the relations between the administration and organized labor, it should be made a part of the President's program of immediate war legislation.

The Limits of Thrift

SAVING, systematic, universal, drastic, is a condition of our winning of the war. As a people we have been wasteful: we must mend our ways, or be beaten. We must not only rid ourselves of the habit of heedless waste: we must scrutinize every luxury and convenience to see whether it can not be dispensed with while the state of the nation is proper matter of grave concern. This we all know, and enough of us act upon the knowledge to produce tangible effects upon the currents of trade. Nevertheless, it is to be admitted that as a people we have not responded with sufficient vigor to the requirements of thrift. We are still lavish with ourselves, for the most part. In some measure, this is because as individuals we have reason to question whether our particular savings are yielding beneficial results commensurate with the hardships they involve. We see instances in which thrift, even in war time, is vicious, and many other instances in which it seems abortive. There appear to be limits upon fruitful thrift.

Let us return to first principles. What we need for the winning of the war is goods and services. We need guns and ammunition, clothing and food, for our armies in the field and in the training camps. We need labor and materials and fuel for the production and transportation of these goods. We need goods and services for the supplying of the civil population at home and in the countries of our Allies. We are in the habit of placing second the supplying of the civil population, as the nations do in fact give preference to the armies in the field, feeding and clothing them well, though the civil population goes hungry and shivers. But in a war that is to be won by industrial effort and civil morale, as well as by preponderance of guns and brave soldiers, we can not place the supplying of the civil population far behind the supplying of the army. To feed New York's East Side is a war service not greatly inferior to the feeding of divisions in France.

Goods and services we need for the war, and we need them in enormous quantities. Some of them are at hand in supplies that for the time are fixed. Such are wheat, sugar, beef. To increase the supply takes more than labor; it takes time, and more time than we can exclude from our calculations. With such goods the whole problem is one of distribution. Those who have been using more than the essential minimum, those who have been using them when substitutes were available, need pressure applied to them, that some part of these vital supplies may be released for more imperative use, civil or military. The extensive adoption of the habit of thrift—that is, mere saving of money—will do something to check excessive consumption of such goods, provided that the administrators of the public economy do their part. That part is the making accessible of cheaper substitutes. Thrift will not make the public eat corn bread instead of wheat bread, if corn bread is as dear as wheat. Thrift will not impel to a substitution of fish for beef, when the price of fish is so high that, food values considered, beef is the cheaper food. One might resolve, out of patriotism, to subsist entirely on squabs and alligator pears. He could not make such a resolve out of thrift. Such a course of conduct would release bread and beef for the national use, but would dissipate funds that might be used for the national loan.

Thus it appears that the relation between thrift and national economy even in the case of the commodities of fixed supply is not an essential and immediate relation. To harness thrift to wheat and meat conservation it is necessary to see that the available substitutes for wheat and meat are relatively cheaper. As every one knows, this is not now generally the case. Very often the consumer can coöperate with Mr. Hoover only at an increased cost of his food supply and a consequent reduction in his saving power. Two principles are in conflict, and the citizen can not be blamed if he sometimes questions the priority of thrift.

Most of the things required for war or peace are not at hand in fixed quantities but may be increased by labor. Of the fifteen billions or more we are to spend in the next twelve months, it is only a relatively small part that will be spent for goods now in existence. The economic problem of war is to procure some ten or twelve billions' worth of industrial power for the national use. To procure this power we must pay for it, and this is the ultimate object for which we must save. Let us bear in mind then that there are two stages in providing the government with the economic sinews of war. One is the creating anew or releasing from other use of the industrial power we require. The other is the placing at the government's disposition of the funds needed to pay for industrial power.

Thrift not only provides funds for the use of the government, but it releases industrial power for the government's use. If one decides to cut down his expenses by the discharge of an employee, he not only saves money that can be invested in Liberty Bonds, but he releases a unit of labor power that can be diverted to military or essential civil use.

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This labor power can be diverted: the extent to which it actually fails to be diverted measures the hiatus between the objects of thrift and its results.

It does no real good to stop the erection of private dwellings unless the labor saved is re-employed on more important undertakings. It does no real good to close up the toy factories unless the labor and fuel—which amounts in the end to the labor of miners and transport workers—is put to other use. More money is saved, but why should more money be saved unless it is to be used to buy more industrial power? And where will that industrial power come from if labor released is not reemployed? There may, to be sure, be reserves of unemployed labor to be drawn upon, in consequence of past misadjustment. There may be employed laborers who can be speeded up. But such resources are necessarily limited. If they did not exist at all, the effect of government expenditure of funds secured through thrift that did not result in reemployment of labor released would be similar to the effect of the expenditure of funds secured through issue of paper money. The government would spend more, but there would be no more things to buy. And this means inflation.

Now, is there actually any considerable hiatus between the results of thrift and its object, the placing of industrial power at the command of the nation? There appears to be such an hiatus. At a time when there are the most pressing demands upon the nation for the products of labor, when there ought to be a serious labor shortage, compelling the extension of remunerative employment to every one able and willing to work, we hear from various parts of the country of serious unemployment and underemployment, of great waste of labor in transit from one employment to another, of labor rendered inefficient by friction over wages rates that fail to accommodate themselves to the rising cost of living. We save money, which means nothing to the present purpose if it does not mean saving industrial power. But as an organization we are not utilizing to the full the industrial power we have. We are permitting tens of thousands of men to remain idle. It seems obvious that along with the efforts of the government to organize thrift should go much more energetic efforts to organize employment, without which thrift is essentially futile.

If we keep constantly in mind that there is no war time meaning in thrift which does not increase the industrial power at the command of the nation, we shall be in less danger of overlooking the fact that there are conditions in which thrift may defeat its essential purpose. There has been too much of a tendency to regard every dollar saved as an addition to the war resources of the nation. It is true now, as it was true before the war, that much of our working class lacks the means to provide the food, clothing and house room essential to full industrial efficiency. To induce the worker who is already inadequately supplied to cut down the consumption of his family and himself is of doubtful service to the nation. For employers to compel underpaid workers to contribute to government loans is to add despotism to unreason. Thrift at the expense of industrial power represents a sacrifice of the end to the means.

Thrift is a virtue to be exploited by a nation at war, but with moderation and common sense. It may have to be subordinated to more pressing needs, for the conservation of vitally necessary goods of fixed supply. Its object is the securing for the nation of industrial power, and its fruitful exercise is conditioned by the capacity of the organized nation to utilize the industrial power it releases. In the extreme case of savings extracted from the very poor, whose efficiency is already impaired by underconsumption, thrift defeats its own purpose. The obligation to save out of income for the national use rests only upon those whose income exceeds the minimum for health and efficiency. And the obligation upon the citizen to save implies the correlative obligation upon the government so to organize the nation's labor supply that only by rare and unavoidable exception does saving end abortively in unemployment.

The Winning of Labor

IF a survey could be made of the minds of a thousand American manufacturers at random, and a report gathered of their prevailing practices in dealing with labor, it would probably be a rudimentary affair. When orders are abundant, as at present, hire as many men as you can get at the market rate. If you can't get enough at this rate, pay a little more than your neighbor. Work the men longer hours. If they become dissatisfied, give them a little more money. If this process forces wages too high, recoup in two ways: charge higher prices and introduce cheaper labor wherever you can, especially women. If that gets you into trouble with the unions, keep your shops non-union as far as possible, appeal to the patriotism of your employees, blame seditious agitators for all strikes and demand industrial conscription from the government.

Apart from industrial conscription such a program can be practiced in peace without bringing disaster, at least to the individual employer and for a limited period. But as soon as it is applied to the needs of a nation at war, it makes for

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never-ending and accumulating trouble. In the first place employer X cannot be permitted to go on hiring machinists away from employer Y indefinitely, and then Y permitted to go on hiring them back again indefinitely. Such a method makes no provision for placing the machinists where for the time being they are most needed; it wastes so much of their time in being shifted about that the country is cheated of their full labor value; and it threatens an unlimited rise in wages at a time when prices must be strictly limited. Some way must be devised for distributing the machinists, not according to the ability of competing employers to outbid one another, but according to the country's really pressing needs. Wages must be stabilized in order that prices may also be stabilized.

In the second place, if we attempt to lower union standards and wages by the introduction of women and unskilled labor, we are certain to have trouble from the organized workers. It is futile to try to suppress the protest by using the appeal to patriotism as a club. The unions will retort, with justice, that they do not object to the introduction of women and unskilled labor unless by these means the employers' profits are increased at labor's expense. They do not object to being patriotic for the government and people of the United States, but they do object to a one-sided patriotism which results in increased profits and decreased wages. Let the appeal be made to the patriotism of the employer who doesn't pay his women—perhaps the mothers and wives of absent soldiers—as much as his men!

All the more reason, some employer will say, for taking a stand against organized labor. I have non-union shops, and I don't have any trouble. In fact I pay higher wages than the union scale in order to keep the unions out. But out of the working population about ten per cent are organized, and these include a large proportion of the highly skilled, the very men we must now depend on most. The tool room, for instance, is about the most vital part of any munitions plant, and nearly half of the tool room hands are organized. If they should strike, the war would have to stop. Perhaps X can run a non-union shop, but A, B, C, and D cannot. Shall we allow the policy of X to force the others out of business?

Furthermore, it is not true that strikes arise only where the workers have previously been organized. Strikes arise wherever there is acute dissatisfaction, and if leadership is not furnished to the strikers from the American Federation of Labor it comes from some less responsible body like the I. W. W. This has been the case during the past year in the Arizona and Montana copper strikes. It was the case in the strike of the Paterson silk workers, and in the case of the Bayonne oil workers, and in that of the Lawrence Mill operatives. It may well be the case, if other conditions are contributory, during 1918 in the Pittsburgh foundries. Strikes are far more sinister and troublesome when they arrive under no responsible leadership, or under the leadership of a disaffected and outlaw organization like the I. W. W., than when they are managed by some body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The government and the nation cannot get away from the fundamentals of the war labor problem. Labor must be distributed properly, the cost of production must be kept down, and in order to do both these things wages must be standardized and stabilized. The present supply of skilled labor must be supplemented by women and newly trained workers. But it will be impossible either to stabilize wages or introduce new labor without serious trouble if skilled labor suspects this is being done to undermine the unions and their existing standards. And any policy used in dealing with organized labor must be extended to all labor.

Long steps towards winning the cordial coöperation of labor were taken by the government in the establishment of various adjustment boards, containing labor representatives, to deal with wages and conditions in building the cantonments, in manufacturing harnesses and uniforms, in shipbuilding, the work of the longshoremen, and in copper mining in Arizona. But all this is little more than a beginning. The arrangement does not apply to the great steel companies, for example, which have consistently refused to sign contracts with the War Department providing for collective bargaining in labor disputes and the eight-hour day. And it does not apply to the vast volume of necessary business not directly undertaken for the government, the undisturbed flow of which will affect the success of the government's agreements.

Those who have recently observed at close range the temper of labor throughout the country report that most of the workers are eager to help in winning the war. While there is some pressure for higher wages on account of the rising cost of living, this is not in itself the root of much dissatisfaction. Wages might be raised indefinitely without removing the existing unrest, so long as nothing else were done. Out of the two thousand-and-odd strikes on the records of the employers' association since the beginning of the war hardly one had been called to secure higher wages. Labor would present no insuperable objection to the limiting of wages, provided they are limited through the proper instrumentalities and provided profits are also limited. But labor is desperately afraid that employers will use this emergency to break down standards and weaken the whole union movement.

The first and most successful agreement between

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the government and labor—that which prevented strikes in the building of cantonments—is based on a bargain securing the two essentials, the waiving by the unions of the right to strike either for higher wages or a closed shop in exchange for the institution by the government of collective bargaining and union standards. This agreement, in its broad outlines, indicates the policy which has the greatest chance of success.

The responsible labor leaders are doing everything in their power to secure the coöperation of the wage-earners in war production. They will succeed if the rank and file believe the employers are dealing with them in good faith. But that small element of labor which is disloyal is constantly telling the rest they are being tricked, that the appeals to patriotism are nothing but an insidious attempt to exploit the workers for the sake of war profits. Let this impression become widespread, let a few important employers continue to confirm it by their acts, and all the labor truces that can be announced by Mr. Gompers and the Council of National Defense will not prevent industrial warfare. There are now many indications of a dangerous disposition on the part of some communities and some officials to bring about this warfare. The workers are watching suspiciously the failure of many important industries to assent to the government policy in matters like the eight-hour day and the recognition of the unions, they resent the suppression of radical newspapers, even of papers whose policy they never have approved, and they are conscious of the many failures to appoint laboring men on Liberty Bond Committees and state councils of defense, while the ancient enemies of industrial constitutionalism appropriate patriotism as a shield for any and every issue.

Any body of men appointed to study the labor problem will of course scrutinize carefully all the complicated factors. But they can hardly escape the conclusion that one of two alternatives must be followed. The first leads to an open fight on organized labor, to the commandeering of plants and industrial conscription, with disaffection and insubordination underground preparing a volcano. The second leads to a unified and comprehensive national policy for dealing with labor, with all labor, whether skilled or unskilled, organized or unorganized, working on government contracts or on private contracts. Any such policy must, to be sure, be elastic in application, and may be applied through varied machinery. But its foundation will be industrial constitutionalism, the installation of collective bargaining for the determination of wages and conditions of work, and the recognition of equal right to participate in the resulting negotiations on the part of organized labor, the employers and the public.

The War Housing Crisis

IN its issue of November 24th The New Republic published an article on Governmental Housing urging the necessity of direct governmental action in the supplying of houses for the workers upon whose services our national efficiency depends. The need of such action grows daily more evident. The report of the Labor Committee of the National Defense Council has asserted that munition centers are far from able to meet the housing needs of war workers. An even more menacing condition in shipbuilding centers is reported. The Patriotic Education Society is responsible for the following assertion: "The output of ships, from the yards of the Newport News Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, our largest shipyard, is only about 50 per cent of what it should be, owing to the unintelligent handling of the labor housing question." A similar situation obtains in Newburgh, N. Y., where it is estimated that 2,000 houses are immediately needed to accommodate the workmen to be engaged by the Newburgh Shipbuilding Corporation. At Fall River, Mass., also 2,000 houses are needed. At Chester, Pa., at Bath, Me., at Wilmington, Del., 1,000 houses are needed. The situation of the Staten Island Shipbuilding Yards is even more distressing, in view of the still greater need of housing here, the yards having been located without any consideration to available housed labor supply. The shipbuilding projects located at the Port of Newark are facing an equally difficult housing problem. An excellent committee of twenty-five financiers and business men has been appointed by the Newark Board of Trade and they estimate that over 30,000 houses are needed.

It is a fair surmise, however, that in this instance as well as in the others, there can be no sound plan discovered by which emergency housing can be safely promoted by private capital. The difficulty arises from the doubtful permanence of such enterprises together with the high price of materials, scarcity of labor and the speed which is vitally necessary. War-housing construction is necessarily expensive, and there can be no security for private capital invested in it. It is not to be denied that there is some justice in the position taken by the Newport News Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company that this excess war housing will be a dead loss after the war and that the government should stand this loss by accepting mortgages on the houses as a part of national war cost.

The general principle that housing of laborers engaged in war industries is a proper war cost and that any necessary loss must be written off as such, was promptly and generously recognized by the British government. According to the English

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Municipal Journal of September 28, 1917, in an article by Mr. F. Baines, of the N. M. Office of Works, "It was agreed that a housing scheme must be got under way immediately, it being the very essence of the situation, and that *the government was bound to take whatever pecuniary risk there might be, such risk being represented as a part of the general cost of the war.*"

British experience established the fact that the raising of even ten per cent of the capital by a public utilities society required more time than could be granted in the emergency. The British government was forced to the conclusion, not only that non-governmental capital could not be secured for war housing purposes, but also that since it is a national war, the relatively small prospective loss from war housing enterprises might properly be charged to war prosecution. The conclusion is equally valid for our own condition. The government must face the issue and be prepared to meet any necessary loss that this war housing project may involve. Any further delay on this score may even jeopardize the outcome of the war.

It is evident that the utmost expedition is necessary. What it is possible to achieve we may learn from the British example. A conference was held on January 13, 1915, by the English authorities responsible for the production of munitions at the Woolwich Arsenal, where it was agreed that a housing scheme must be gotten under way immediately. On January 21st, only seven days later, the Treasury gave definite instructions, and in the absence of sufficient cost data, an appropriation of more than $93,000,000 was made pending information as to the final credits needed. Ninety-six acres of land were purchased and possession was taken of the first part on January 30th. On February 1st, surveys for streets, sewers and house locations were begun, seventeen days elapsing between conference and the actual beginning of work. In spite of two strikes, 1298 houses were built within the estimated time of less than nine months, and, furthermore, without the sacrifice of any social or æsthetic advantage. In this regard, it is worth while quoting Evart G. Culpin, a well known editor and secretary of the Garden City and Town Planning Association, who writes: "That Wellhall" (the experiment in question), "is easily the first thing in cottage plans and elevations of the whole world."

Our own Council of National Defense appeared to regard its suggestion of the need for $100,000,000 as extremely bold. Yet England has already spent nearly $700,000,000 and is projecting an expenditure of over $1,300,000,000 more. Is it possible that we who are wealthier and who have not fought for three years cannot do as much or more?

The governmental program which may be relied upon to accomplish similar results as to quality and expedition of war housing, can best be secured through the formation of an emergency housing corporation along the lines of the Emergency Fleet Corporation but modified and improved by such changes as experience with the Emergency Fleet Corporation suggests. One man alone should be the head of this corporation, but should be, of course, one of highest executive efficiency, as well as thoroughly socially minded. The magnitude of the responsibility to be borne by the head of such a corporation is indicated by the fact that the enterprise would involve the expenditure of not less than three billion dollars if we were to meet the problem as ably and as farsightedly as the British government has done. And a failure to do less would inevitably place us at a serious handicap in the international competition that will follow upon the close of the war.

When such a corporation is established, every new war housing project in the country should be financed, designed and supervised by it. The corporation should be the pooling place of all professional ability available for this work, such as that of town planners, sociologists, architects, engineers, etc. From these classes of men, the ablest should be chosen to take charge of such parts of the work for which they are best qualified.

In some instances, use can be made of the services of firms of industrial engineers and architects who have coöperated with the government in the creation of cantonments and base hospitals, and all other firms that have demonstrated their fitness and availability through their cantonment and allied work.

As to financial policy we can not do better than adopt the British plan—which amounts to cost plus a percentage profit, with all purchases centralized under official control.

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The Brain of the Army

HE is President of the Panama Railroad, responsible head of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, of the Philippine Commission, and of the government of Porto Rico. He is Chairman of the Council of National Defense. But let us think of him only as Secretary of War. Is there any other executive in the world who at this moment is in immediate charge of so many important undertakings? President Wilson lays out the route of the car and makes telling comments on the landscape. Mr. Baker holds the wheel and directs the mechanician. The French and British Ministers of War are now roaring along the course in finely adjusted racers, 1918 model. They are just keeping pace with Hindenburg. Mr. Baker started in an antique runabout, and as he travels he has to tinker it, part by part, into something which can go fast and far. He cannot stop by the roadside and rebuild at leisure. No one can tell how soon the race will depend largely on him. His friends understand that he cannot remodel everything at once, but they know how pressing is the necessity both for thoroughness and for speed. They know that six months from now, if anything important goes wrong, his enemies will blame him for it. And irrespective of that, everything important must go right.

Last week Mr. Hard showed that Mr. Baker had made a good beginning by putting the brain of the army, the General Staff, where it belongs, at the head of the army. But he also showed that somehow or other the Staff has not made close connection with the nervous system. It seems to be so remote that hands and feet often jerk along independently. Is there anything else the matter, except that the War College is three miles "down the river"? No one can know much about such a question without having access to all the information and experience tumbling in on Mr. Baker, and more too. It might be suggestive, however, to compare the American organization with those of our Allies, in certain of the features information about which is accessible in published reports.

The first duty of the American Chief of Staff under the law is to be military adviser to the Secretary of War. He can and does advise on large matters, but he is a busy man, he must often be away from his office, and, like most executives, he cannot be cognizant of all details without consulting his subordinates. Only a few of these are in the War Department building. Yet Secretary Baker's need for detailed military information is constant and pressing. Many who consult him must have prompt and accurate decisions. Mr. Baker's own time would be saved if there were trustworthy and informed military advisers at his elbow. Suppose the American Secretary of War, like most of the European War Ministers, had a personal military staff, composed of trained officers who had access to every paper and every man in the War Office. They could be animated encyclopedias for him, they might even at times catch the General Staff in a delay or a mistake. They could help him as no officer could who has other duties besides that of gathering information for the Secretary's personal use.

The main duty of our General Staff is to plan and to coördinate and supervise the work of the line and bureaus of the army. It should, according to the ruling of Secretary Baker, "pursue the execution of policy through the various bureaus." The European Staffs have approximately the same functions. But a study of the governments, notably in England and France, shows that the Staffs are equipped in a different way for all these duties.

In the first place, the Chief of Staff of almost any of our Allies is a member of the supreme war council—the body which roughly corresponds to our Council of National Defense. The European councils contain the men who have the information and authority to decide the large questions of policy, and they do decide these questions. Our Council of National Defense as established by law does not contain the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the chairman of the Shipping Board, the chairman of the War Trade Board or the Food Administrator. We have no executive officer of any sort in control of the manufacture of all munitions and supplies. The Council has recently developed into a conference by the inclusion of Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hurley. It merely confers, however; it does not decide anything as a body. That may be because of the absence of the President (the Premier of England and the President of France are members of the respective councils). At any rate, because the typical European council decides, and because the Chief of Staff is a member of it, he has real authority in the army. He can deliver the decisions of the council to the commanders in the field. He can plan the work of his own staff.

It is different with us. When General Pershing thinks of our Chief of Staff, he thinks of an individual who has no connection with any of the other war bodies. General Bliss never confers, for in-

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stance, with Mr. Hurley of the Shipping Board, and none of his subordinates ever does. When Pershing wants to find out how many troops he can have by a certain date he has to refer to a program made up in the War Department. He cannot be sure whether anyone ever asked the Shipping Board upon what expectation of transports and supply ships that program is based. He cannot be sure whether the program for the requisite munitions has taken into account the steel that must be used for building those ships. He cannot be sure that either program has been checked up with the labor supply. If circumstances arise which must alter the program, the chances are that nobody knows it, or that nobody remembers to tell everybody concerned until the physical scarcity of ships or labor obtrudes itself. The remoteness of the General Staff from the conduct of the war naturally disinclines the army to regard it as other than an aloof and secret body which may be making perfect plans for some imaginary invasion of Baluchistan, but is not to be consulted about large, immediate problems.

In the second place, the European General Staffs present a strong front to the War Office. They have committees to study questions of organization, equipment, instruction, transportation and operation of the forces. These committees, under the Chief of Staff, make the decisions in military policy. The policies are then carried out in detail by the various bureau chiefs. There is, for instance, a Chief of Artillery who is responsible for the organization and instruction of the artillery branch and for the distribution of supplies to it. There is attached to him, among others, a member of the General Staff, who keeps him informed about the artillery policy of the Staff, and keeps the Staff informed about the work and needs of the Chief of Artillery. There are similar Chiefs of Infantry, Signal Corps, Engineers and so on, and each chief is linked with the General Staff by a Staff officer.

But no such simple and logical process goes on in our army. Our Staff, to be sure, has its committees. We have Chiefs of Signal Corps, Engineers and Coast Artillery. But no General Staff officers are attached to them. We have no chiefs of the main branches of the service—Infantry, Cavalry and Field Artillery. We have a Chief of Ordnance, who is in charge of designing, purchasing and distributing guns and ammunition. But he is not in charge of the artillery's organization and training. We have a Quartermaster General, in charge of buying and distributing to everybody general supplies and equipment. The executive work of the three main branches of the service is mostly done by the Adjutant General—an officer who nominally is appointed to preside over the records. No representative of the General Staff is attached to the Chief of Ordnance, the Quartermaster General, or the Adjutant General. Just as the War College is physically remote from the War Department, so the General Staff is mentally remote from the bureau and division heads.

One man is supposed, in our system, to be the channel for instructions from the Chief of Staff to the rest of the army—the Adjutant General. He existed before the General Staff was created, and at times has held great administrative power. The tradition of that power still lingers about the War Department. The decisions of the Chief of Staff are transmitted to the Adjutant General for distribution to the line and bureau chiefs. Questions arising within the line or the bureaus involving general policy are sent in to the Adjutant General, and it is within his discretion either to pass them up to the Chief of Staff, or to decide them himself. Perhaps it is this uncertainty in the delegation of authority that causes some of the confusion, both in his office and elsewhere.

In the European system the General Staff is equipped to do the major planning, the coördinating and the following up. The bureau chiefs are equipped to do the work of executive detail—that sort of work which Congress felt a vague need of keeping away from our General Staff when it passed the National Defense act of 1916. But in our system, while the General Staff may or may not do the planning, it cannot do the coördinating or the following up without cutting across the work of the Adjutant General or of one of the bureau chiefs. On the other hand, it frequently attempts to do detailed work which might better be done by an executive trained in his special job.

Two instances will make this clear. The General Staff makes a decision, let us say, to change the number of cavalry units from 17 to 27. The Quartermaster Corps hears of this change and immediately alters its buying to suit 27 units. But the Ordnance Bureau does not take note of the decision for weeks, and goes on supplying 17. Such things have happened. Whose fault is it? The law says the General Staff must coördinate the bureaus, and Secretary Baker writes that it must "pursue the execution of policy through the various bureaus." But the General Staff has an alibi. It has no direct connection with either the Ordnance Bureau or the Quartermaster Corps. It does not even contain in its membership a representative of any of the purchasing bureaus. It notifies the Adjutant General of its decision. It can do no more.

The other instance is of a contrary nature. Should promotions be decided by seniority or selection, and should the practice differ in this

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respect at home and abroad? A ruling was the duty of the General Staff. But the drawing up of the complicated regulations was the duty of a specialized executive chief. Nevertheless the War College painfully and at length worked out a series of regulations—which proved to be so imperfect that they had to be revised several times by the Adjutant General's office. It is this sort of thing which makes officers hesitant to send questions "down the river." It explains why many divisions never hear of the General Staff except when it issues orders that no officer may wear a "Sam Brown belt" while in America, or that Second Lieutenants shall wear a gilt bar on the shoulder.

It would be a mistake, of course, slavishly to follow any European example. Perhaps our government can devise a new and better system. But it is interesting to see how well fitted the European organizations are to give scope to the General Staff for the performance of the very duties which our General Staff is by law directed to perform. We may remember, too, that England and France are democracies, that their armies are worthy of emulation, and that the American army is fighting in France beside them. The great and noticeable difference, however, between our War Department and both the British and French War Ministers is in the method of purchasing munitions. The French and British have both been forced, during the war, to take this duty away from the artillery chief and place it in a separate ministry. Neither wished to do so; they were forced to do so by the inadequacy of the military arm to handle immense business problems. Both nations are now convinced that if the military branch can satisfactorily distribute materials, without buying them, its capacity will be taxed to the utmost. Perhaps our problem is simpler than theirs. Perhaps we have better ordnance chiefs. Perhaps the Ordnance Bureau is now doing well enough. That subject must be discussed in another article.

GEORGE SOULE.

Politics in South Africa

II

NEXT to the native problem, the most important, and at the moment by far the most urgent, question for South Africa is that of her future relations to the British empire. The question itself, of course, is common to all the members of the British "Commonwealth of Nations." What is peculiar to South Africa is the solution demanded by the newly-formed and rapidly increasing "Nationalist" party. The nationalism of the other members of the empire is directed towards the improvement of their political status within the empire. Egypt and India aim at internal self-government. Canada and Australia, already self-governing, demand to share with Great Britain the control of the foreign, i.e., the peace-and-war policy of the empire. In South Africa alone the Nationalist movement aspires to separation from the empire. It seeks to secure for South Africa international recognition as a sovereign republic.

The movement may be described as a revival of the national aspirations which the Boers surrendered in the Treaty of Vereeniging. The steps of this revival, and the modification of these aspirations under the pressure of events, form the most interesting chapter of recent political history in South Africa. As soon as the grant of self-government, and the formation of the Union, had put the Dutch in political control of the whole of a united South Africa, two tendencies manifested themselves among the irreconcilables, who found a spokesman and leader in the Free State General, J. M. B. Hertzog. On the one hand, they sought to whittle down the obligations of South Africa to the empire. They raised an acrimonious discussion on the question (then, apparently, purely academic) whether South Africa had the right to remain neutral if Great Britain should become involved in a European war. They put forward a doctrine of limited partnership or neutrality at will. On the other hand, they set themselves by a kind of racial segregation to preserve the Dutch race, language, and religion, and resist all assimilation to British ways. "The people," on their lips, meant exclusively the Dutch inhabitants of South Africa, as distinct from "alien immigrants" (the British) and "colored trash" (the native races). Whereas Botha was laboring to bring the two white races together, Hertzog strove to keep them apart. To Botha's policy of "conciliation," he opposed the doctrine of "two streams," i.e., of Dutch and British living side by side, each jealously guarding its national characteristics. Instead of the identification of imperial and South African interests, Hertzog preached up and down the veld that South Afrca should come first, and her interests always be put before those of the empire. This direct challenge to Botha's policy led to his expulsion from the Cabinet. Soon afterwards, he organized his adherents into the Nationalist party.

Had it not been for the European war, this

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party might never have grown beyond an impotent Free State faction. But the decision of Botha's government to stand by England in the war and to undertake the conquest of German South West Africa, provoked a rebellious outbreak in parts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Some of the rebels undoubtedly hoped to regain the lost independence of the Dutch colonies. "Never again," said a manifesto, "in our lifetime shall we get such a beautiful opportunity of getting rid of the British yoke, and then building up a nation of our own, founded on the Voortrekkers' religion, manners, customs, and traditions." Others cherished pro-German sympathies, or, anticipating a German victory, desired by prudent neutrality to purchase the victor's gratitude. But the chief motive of most, apparently, was nothing more than deep resentment at finding themselves committed to fight on behalf of an empire which had recently been their enemy and their conqueror. The Nationalists exploited this feeling by representing Botha not only as neglecting, but as betraying, the interests and desires of his people. The outbreak, so its apologists declared, was not a rebellion, but an "armed protest"; it was directed, not against King George, but against "King Louis." That Botha was able to put down the rising by enlisting a purely Dutch volunteer force is a splendid monument to the Dutch character, but it was none the less a tragic thing for men who had been comrades in arms against England to hunt one another down across the veld which was their common home.

These events inevitably left much bitterness behind. Moreover, a severe drought smote the country and added to the difficulties of farmers already handicapped by campaigning. The financial burden of the fighting in West and, later, in East Africa, and of the South African force on the western front, increased the unpopularity of the war among the Dutch. In all these troubled waters the Nationalists found good fishing. Their propaganda spread, and met with a readier response. The constitutional argument was developed. The only bond between the states composing "the so-called British empire," declared Hertzog, is allegiance to the same king. Except for this, each nation ought to be a "perfect state organism," absolutely autonomous and complete in itself. So long as the British parliament has the right to withdraw the South African constitution and to veto South African legislation, e.g., on native affairs; or so long as South Africa cannot remain neutral at will in a British war, her supposed self-government is a mere sham. Hence, to take part in any movement for the closer organization of the empire, is to rivet the fetters of dependence more firmly round her neck. From this position it was a short step to the conclusion that genuine independence must be sought outside the empire. The transformation of the Union into a sovereign republic became the acknowledged goal, and was declared to be such in a recent manifesto of the "Federal Council of the National Party of South Africa."

To appreciate this development properly, three points must be borne in mind.

First, it is too late in the day to reply to the Nationalists with nothing better than an angry charge of disloyalty. They have acknowledged through Hertzog that they have no grievance against England's treatment of South Africa since the grant of self-government. But, having become British citizens by conquest, they cannot well be blamed on moral grounds for being unwilling citizens, or for seeking to reverse the results of the Boer war, especially now that agitation by purely constitutional means is an explicit part of their program.

Secondly, it was inevitable that the Boers, touched by the ferment of the war, should apply to themselves the very principles for which the Allies profess to be fighting. Rights of small nations? Here are the Transvaal and the Free State, robbed of their independence at the point of the sword. No conquered race to be held and governed against its will? Let the people of South Africa then decide whether they want to live within the empire or without. The very grant of self-government has given them the right to canvass the question, and decide upon their own future.

Thirdly, it must be clearly understood that the fight over the Nationalist program is, first and foremost, a fight among the Dutch themselves. It is only secondarily a fight between Dutch and English. The main cleavage does not follow racial lines. Botha's "South African Party," which stands for the development of the Dutch through coöperation with their British fellow-subjects in a common South African nation within the empire, is as much a Dutch party as Hertzog's Nationalists. The supreme object of each of the two rival leaders is to unite the whole Dutch race on the basis of his policy. The conviction of the Botha party that the national future of the Dutch lies through the development of their opportunities within the empire has found its classic utterance in the speeches of General Smuts, a statesman of the first rank, whose influence on his own people is unfortunately in inverse ratio to the quality of his statesmanship. His imagination has been fired by the combination of romance and moral quality in the British empire. It is to him "not a state, but half a world." Notwithstanding a "temporary aberration" in the Boer war, it stands for the reign, not of force, but of moral principles, in inter-

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national affairs. It shows by its example how a Society of Nations on a coöperative basis is possible. It does not follow precedents in constitutional development; it makes them. Yet, though Smuts's conception of the best future for his people is thus diametrically opposed to that of Hertzog, it should not be overlooked how far they share the same premises. Across his English hearers Smuts is addressing, 6,000 miles away, the same South African audience which listens also to Hertzog. Hence Smuts's speeches echo points of the Nationalist leader's argument, whilst turning them to the opposite conclusion. Smuts, too, declares that "although in practice there is great freedom, yet in theory the status of the Dominions is of a subject character." He, too, demands the emancipation of the Dominion parliaments from the control of the British parliament. He, too, is hostile to any form of closer union which, centralized in an imperial parliament and an imperial executive, would curtail, not enlarge, the autonomy of the Dominions. He will admit only "continuous consultation in common affairs." But, on the other hand, he feels that the culture, religion, and language of his race are safe under the British flag, because the empire does not seek to "standardize" its members. And when he explains that the English kingship is "really not very different from a hereditary republic," he is wooing the republicans with the magic of their own catchword. Thus Smuts succeeds, where the Nationalists fail, in a synthesis of Dutch patriotism with British imperialism.

No one can at present predict which party is going to win the day. The Nationalists are very much in the minority in parliament, but in the country they admittedly have gained over to their side a majority of the Dutch population. It is not impossible that the next election may bring them into power. Even as it is, Botha's government retains the control of parliament only because the "Unionist" party, representing chiefly the British population and forming nominally the "opposition," has agreed not to oppose so long as Botha supports the empire and the war. The Unionists are not strong enough to form a government of their own, and will not unite with the Nationalists to throw out the Botha cabinet. Thus the political equilibrium is highly unstable, and Botha's hold on the Dutch is weakened by his dependence on the goodwill of the Unionists. His strength, on the other hand, lies in the fact that the success of the Nationalists cannot but make of South Africa a second Ireland, with the British population in the position of Ulster, and the storm-cloud of civil war ever on the horizon.

Public opinion in the United States cannot afford to be indifferent to this apparently remote South African issue. Sooner, perhaps, than we anticipate, it may find itself called upon to take up a definite attitude on this question. For the Council of the National party has expressed its intention of bringing its case before the peace conference and asking that the principle "that all nations, small or great, should have the complete and final disposal of their own destiny, and that no nation should be compelled to stand under the dominion of any power under which it does not desire to live," be adopted as a "fundamental principle of international law guaranteed by the united civilized Powers of the world," *and that it be applied to South Africa.* The Dutch Nationalists will not be alone in this appeal, which will be addressed to the United States above any other nation, because under President Wilson's inspired leadership they have come to be looked upon as uninfluenced in this war by selfish national ambitions, and as standing solely for the ideal principles of international justice and right. To America will turn all nations and fragments of nations which, rightly or wrongly, consider themselves oppressed and held in subjection. To decide wisely then will surely be her hardest task in this war. In that hour she will meet the severest test of the purity of her national purpose.

R. F. Alfred Hoernlé.

Henri Bergson Thanks America

The following address was delivered by Henri Bergson to the members of the American and English Red Cross in Paris, on Sunday, October 28, 1917. M. Bergson spoke in English.

WHEN I was asked to express in a few words what we all feel towards you, I could not help answering: "It is a great pity, but you have just hit upon the man who has spent all his life saying that words cannot express feelings." Not even the ordinary feelings that are experienced in every-day life. How, then, could I find words to express what we feel towards you, in this unparalleled case of self-sacrifice and generosity? Men and women belonging to the American and English Red Cross have left their homes, thrown aside their work or occupations—great doctors, great surgeons have given up their practice—in order to attend our wounded soldiers, and also our civilian population, so terribly tried by tuberculosis and other diseases. Hospitals have been founded, some in or near Paris, some in the provinces, some in both, with Parisian, and provincial branches.

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An especial fund has been collected and supported for helping our French hospitals; to hundreds of them you have lent assistance. Then, after our wounded men, you have thought of our wounded citizens. And then, after our present, you have thought of our future generations; you have provided for our orphans, in such a way that they do not only receive material assistance, but know that you are taking in them a most friendly interest. Thus, from across the Channel and across the ocean, rolls towards us an immense wave of charity and generosity. For all that sacrifice of time, labor and money, how could I offer you adequate thanks?

I admire this great spirit, and yet I am not surprised at it, because I know the English and the American people. In fact, I have often said what I thought of them. On the English people I have never been called upon to speak in public, because England, being so near, is supposed to be familiar to us; but anyone of us who has crossed the Atlantic is believed to have discovered America, and is expected to give an account of his discovery. Such was my case, a few years ago. Called upon to give an opinion of the American people, I told the audience that there was probably no country in the world where material interest was less considered, where money was less cared for, where the highest ideals more thoroughly and continually penetrate and permeate everyday life. America, I said, is the land of idealism. The lecture was listened to favorably, because, over here, we have always been fond of America; yet when it was over, a man came up to me and said: "I don't know your books, sir; but judging by the way you spoke of the American people, I guess that you belong, as a philosopher, to the optimistic school." I have not met the gentleman since; but I am perfectly sure that, seeing what the Americans are doing and have already done in the present war, he will never again venture guessing to what school a philosopher belongs.

But I should not respond to the wish of my friends if I did not tell you what strikes us most,—what most struck us from the very first,—in the work that you are doing. It is your methodical and systematic way of doing it; it is your thoroughness, discipline and organization. Of course, method means efficiency, and the more an effort is methodical, the greater and better the result. That is one of the reasons why we admire your method. But perhaps this is not the main reason. It seems to me that we admire it still more as a sign or symptom of the spirit in which your task is being accomplished.

A task that is done in such a methodical, businesslike manner is a task that has been accepted as a strict and imperative duty. It is not looked upon by those who are doing it as the mere rendering of a service, not as anything optional, not as the bestowal of a gift or favor, but as an actual obligation. A gift or a favor you bestow in your own way, as you like and when you like; but to submit to a rule is to feel oneself morally bound. That is what you have done, and that is what touches us most deeply. Philosophers have been accustomed to draw a sharp line of distinction between two kinds of social duty; the one they call justice, and the other benevolence. Justice, they say, is rigid, can be shaped into definite rules and thereby divided into so many duties that are strictly compulsory, whereas anything that comes under the head of benevolence is supposed to be elastic, less compulsory, and more or less left to personal choice. Either I am much mistaken, or you have done away with that sharp distinction. You have risen to a higher moral plane, which, I hope, will remain after the war, the plane on which humanity will permanently dwell,—a plane on which benevolence is no more looked upon as optional but wears the features of justice.

What force has raised you to that plane? Your own will, of course. But either I am too much prejudiced in favor of my fellow countrymen, or their deeds may also, to some degree, account for it. When Germany declared war in August, 1914, we did not immediately realize the full significance of the event; yet we instantly felt that this war would have nothing in common with previous wars and that we were being called upon to perform some formidable and superhuman work. Every man, woman and child rose above himself, and the attitude of the whole people of France became grave and solemn,—solemn and grave as in a cathedral.

Then, after a few weeks, we clearly understood what was taking place, and how we were actually being confronted with the Powers of Evil, evoked from below in order that they should test their strength, stretch it to the utmost, gradually wear it out, and fall and die in a final and terrific fight. A mission had been conferred upon us, and that mission was divine. And it was because our soldiers and generals felt this that our soldiers fought as they fought, that our generals were inspired as they were inspired, and that the battle of the Marne was won. But, then, from the very vibrations of their hearts, a message had been sent all over the world, which was answered by all those whose souls could be raised to the same pitch: all understood that a great task had to be accomplished, to which they were summoned by a higher Power. This accounts for what I have seen lately in America,—a nation going to war for the sake of no selfish

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interest, for the preservation of ideals which have been expressed in immortal words by President Wilson and without which you think, as we ourselves think, that life would no more be worth living. And this may account also for the fact that whatever you have done here you have not done as if you were granting a favor, but as if you were performing a duty.

Such deeds carry their reward within them. They raise the soul to such a pitch that everything in life that follows becomes more intense and more significant. A man who incidentally took a part in our French Revolution has written somewhere that, after the formidable events into which he had been thrown, he found everything so dull and life, on the whole, so uninteresting. But, then, he had been forced into the events by outer circumstances; a hurricane had blown from without, had lifted him up, had dropped him down; down he remained. Not so with you! The breath has blown from within, and inflated your hearts, and kindled a fire with which the whole of your life will be warmed and illuminated. Such is my firm belief. I am afraid I have expressed it—as I have expressed everything else—in far too many words. Yet I cannot leave you without conveying to you, once more, our warmest and heartiest thanks.

An Adventure in Education

I FACE my first class. At a long table sit Tryonka, the stupid Pole, and Toinette, the bad, clever little French girl with too avid mind. There is Vincenzina Palermo, who put rat-poison in Signor Palermo's coffee one morning at breakfast. Near Sonya, the gentle young Russian from the Yiddish stage, sit Sairy, the half-wit mountain white, contemptuous of school, and big, lovable Nora, who has our respect, strangely, in spite of her immoral record. Across the table sits English Lizzie, who neglected to provide an alibi at her husband's death. Ellie, the wren-like gypsy who kidnapped her own child and lived last summer in a wandering wagon, slips into the chair next Janet the forger, who plays the grand dame, sweeping around the country in her monogrammed limousine. At the corner, Gudrun, the lady shoplifter, who bestows her attentions exclusively on Marshall Field and Company, lifts her delicate eyebrows at this motley crew.

What do they want? They eye the new teacher distrustfully. Taking my courage in both hands, I tell myself that the important question is not what do they want, but what do they need. Clearly it is my task to convince them that the two are identical, and that the school of the state reformatory can furnish the synthesis.

Each of these women has been washed up to our shores from the backwaters and eddies of life because she was for some reason incapable of steering with the current. Her rudder must be put into commission. The reformatory must equip her with efficiency for the practical issues of life; she must be released more fit for freedom. And the school must directly subserve this aim, for is not the business of education to fit human beings for life?

Perhaps it is, but fitness for life, as I understand the term, is obviously not what these human derelicts desire for themselves. Even a theorist could not mistake the fact. My class includes women of every age, from seventeen to seventy, stenographers and illiterates,—from Albania, Harlem, the Congo and Rome—but sharing this characteristic in common: all have been sentenced by the courts to prison, for terms ranging from one year to life, for every crime in the decalogue and some that are not. The kind of "efficiency for life" that interests them is the kind that pays, the kind possessed abundantly by the safe-breaker artist of the underworld, Submarine Mary, and by runaway Bess, who is still at large. Obviously the cultural gift of seeing life steadily and seeing it whole makes no appeal to these dwellers beyond the pale. Their minds have few pegs on which to hang decorative ideas.

What those minds need is good solid furniture for everyday use. Immediate utility and nothing else will interest them. There only is the possible synthesis of what they want and what they need.

Annunciata and Vincenzina, for example, cannot write their own names. Annunciata is an obliging Italian minus morals, with a strong sense of "mine" and "thine" (a predilection, it must be admitted, for "thine"), forever weeping for her five children. In a week the ignorant mind has conquered the clumsy hand.

She calls me into her room.

"Me write lika da school"!

Before my wondering eyes is displayed Annunciata's entire wardrobe, threadmarked with the crabbed square letters of her name. Chuckling, she removes a hand from a hip long enough to flourish the cherished rag that does eternal duty as a handkerchief. Everywhere, "Annunciata"! Through the jealous instinct of possession the divine wedge has entered.

For a long time Vincenzina is obdurate. "She's kinder took a notion," Nora says. The simple motives of pleasing "the officers" or labeling her own possessions will not galvanize this brain and hand, for although she is a "life woman," the pleasures of education make absolutely no appeal to her

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ignorant and ingrowing mind. But I recall her daughter " on the outside."

" Maybe next month, Vincenzina, you can write your own letters to Rosie."

Eureka! Something happens. She buckles down, outdistances the class, and begs the inmate assistant to help her outside of school hours. She learns to write to Rosie. Meanwhile she is acquiring valuable principles of grammar, spelling and punctuation. But she doesn't know it. The three R's are by-products in my school. Arithmetic comes to my class in disguise. Rather it is nearer the truth to say that it shows there its own unfamiliar face, beautiful with the beauty of usefulness. For Vincenzina, who has charge of the institution sewing-room " for life or good behavior," brings her tape-measure to school and becomes a shrewd cutter. Indirectly, this profits you, The Public. Directly, it profits Vincenzina.

The superintendent of the model reformatory at X visited school this afternoon. She asked Vincenzina (visitors always notice her) how she liked arithmetic. At once the old sullen craftiness masked the comely face, and her suspicious reply came ungraciously,

" Vincenzina don' know. Never hearda dat word."

Every eye follows the chalk as I write on the blackboard the old paradox:

> " Every lady in this land
> Has twenty nails upon each hand,
> Five and twenty on hands and feet,
> And this is true, without deceit."

Pair by pair the eyes lose their vagueness. They sharpen and contract with sudden perception of a " catch," and now they shine, dilated, as we all laugh heartily at the absurdity of it. But finally they become puzzled and intent. When at last the key is discovered, uproarious excitement sweeps the entire reformatory.

" *Oh!* commas make a difference between sense and what don't mean nothin'! "

How often does the visitor find a public school classroom where every face is tense with interest, the atmosphere electric, teacher and class absorbed in the excitement of intellectual discovery? Public school education makes a fatal omission. It lacks obvious relation to life; it lacks vital interest. This deficiency has produced all sorts of palliative fads and fancies. But the finished product today is a monument to the mistakes of theory, to the democratic fallacy that in this land of the free and equal everyone must have the same kind of education.

I face my first class without theories. The only theory which matters to this reformatory school is the ideal common to all education, whether cultural or vocational,—to set the spirit free. These lives are in grim truth imprisoned. They need the liberty which I can bring. Scanning these faces, too weak or too strong, ravaged or immalleable, dull or alert, yet none indifferent and all eager, I realize that this is a liberty which they may be unable to describe or even to recognize, but at least it shall be a liberty which they can *use!* At least this liberty shall be interesting. At least each woman shall have reason to feel, as Nora says, " grateful to the teachers who tried to teach me." If Veronica, Marya and the Papaljeks leave the reformatory able to read and write their own letters, able to add up their own grocery bills and to run their homes hygienically, and with a keener sense of community responsibility, they will have justified the school. For this means increased efficiency for life. It means they are more fit for freedom.

For many of my pupils the first step in freedom is learning the language of the land. The desire to learn English has urged Marya, the pretty Austrian burglar, through two classes. Marya herself wrote to me:

" I would like to tell you how much I learn since I am here. I did know some but I learn more to read and write. I have been going to school for five year in old country be fore I cam here when I was working in a place people used to talk in English. I used to wish that I could talk in English. I am verey thankful that I know. I would like to tell you that I have learned to crochet here too."

Sonya knows the Russian literature, but could neither speak, read nor write English. In four months her ambition to act on the stage in English parts, like Nazimova, has carried her straight through the lower classes. I often find myself teaching the whole school through Sonya, so compelling is the eagerness of her vivid face. She looks like a Wladyslaw Benda illustration. Now that she has been paroled and has recovered the baby whom she left on someone's doorstep to save him from starvation, I receive gracious notes from her—" Just a fue wordes from me and your darling Ivan, to say hope you in best helth as it leaves me at present."

I suspect Tina Rosata of feministic leanings. (She is not serving her year for " The Cause," however, but for literally incendiary reasons. She wanted the insurance money.) Tina has two brothers " on the outside," one a doctor and the other a lawyer, each with an American university degree. A month ago the daughter of the house of Rosata could not write her own name. She feels keenly the injustice of this partiality, and is not only studying with a diligence that belies her nick-

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name, "Crepo," but is determined that her own daughter shall have just as good a chance as her son. School is giving "Crepo" freedom.

I watch Gudrun arch her eyebrows at life. I think nothing can pierce that blasé shell. But she forgot to drawl today during a genial conversation between the class and myself about the customs of the lands they know. The class grows excited. It seems that many things are different in our country. Rachel has learned too late that the Rabbi cannot free the wife in America from the husband in Vilna. The atmosphere is positively convivial. Somebody snickers. Quick! There on the schoolroom wall hangs a great map, but few can read its romances. Gudrun, who is at home in Europe, translates them to the class. Her intelligent face is flushed. They have forgotten to ridicule her; for the first time she thrills to their eager attention.

For obvious reasons I display no map of the environs of our reformatory. Observing the upper class slyly hunting this possible prize in their McMurry's, I start an experience meeting. Everybody wants to know where flour comes from, how our clothes grow, why groceries are so dear. Everybody testifies. Lizzie and Toinette know the silk mills. Marya's father is in the lumber business, and others come from the canning districts of the state. Some were born on farms. They want me to interpret their experience in larger terms. Their interest in commerce and industry is strictly personal, for the high cost of living *matters* to the thief and the harlot.

Thus the great objectives of this educational experiment are gained in the form of incidental returns. The reformatory is conducted on the vital principle that the great goods of life are by-products. We do not make a business of reforming human beings. Under the brilliant leadership of the young superintendent, self-government is being tried out with remarkable success. Our real objective is seldom mentioned in the "Ant-Hill," as we style our busy community. "Here," we say, "are eighty of you crowded together. In order to make things go pleasantly for all of us, we must have obedience, industry and helpfulness from you. We believe that you girls can help run your end of things on your own responsibility, so stand up to your job!"

Two years ago a hard, ignorant, desperate little girl was transferred to us from the state prison to serve a long term for child murder. She was sixteen. Little by little her terrible fits of morose depression grew less frequent, and "Little Lisa" is now the backbone of self-government. New girls are turned over to her for initiation into reformatory ethics. Of her responsibilities she wrote, "The first thing I tell a new girl when she come in the place is the rules, and I tell her for to do as she is told and obey the officers, and not to run away, as it will not pay to do it."

Little Lisa has a taking way with babies. Having proved her competence in our nursery, she wants to become a nursemaid. Therefore these summer mornings when school gives place to farm work, Little Lisa knocks eagerly at my door. Marveling at the metamorphosis of character and spirit, at her mature and tragic view of life, and her zest for books, I ask her why she wants to be educated. "Tell me on paper for practice, Lisa."

"I want an education," she writes, "because there is a better life in education. People live better with education than without it. They know more than the ones that are not educated. Being able to read helps in your work. If your mind is educated it works better. It thinks more clearly and more quickly. Child nurses need education."

Hers was clearly a condition rather than a theory.

M. Elizabeth Case.

What Is Poetry?

POETRY has never been written, and has only been suggested in occasional lines from the work of those men called poets. . . .

The first striving toward poetry, in the Occident, was in the form of narratives sung or chanted by old men, in praise or condemnation of kings or warriors, and it became the gilded and softened history of a people, told to awaken pride and love in their hearts. Gradually it spread to narratives of all forms—to allegories written in praise of the morals of Christianity, to dainty love episodes recounted in song by Troubadours, and to satirical narratives such as Chaucer's dealing with the frailties of common people.

This striving toward poetry was then, as it usually is now, a deep, unformed longing to escape from the bare details of existence, to create a fanciful sedative against life. It required less effort, in the making of this sedative, to drift toward instead of away from human beings and their beliefs. Thus, a poet could write without making the superhuman struggle necessary to cast off the dull material surface of society. Or, if the poet desired an exit from materialism, religion was conveniently at hand—something to which the easily reached fibers of his being could respond without questioning.

The fixed tradition that each poet must have a message was born in this way. The poet became a dealer in imaginative sermons, which soothed men

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into believing they and their customs were perfect, or which attacked their customs in favor of new ones. The picture of what poetry might be was as hazy during the seventeen centuries after the birth of Christ as it is now. There could be fashioned no statements to grasp it, because the striving toward poetry had not resolved itself to a definite art, but had become a fixed form, into which any kind of content might be poured.

Wordsworth was the first poet of any proportions to turn the content of poetry into a definite channel. He amazed those about him by making his striving toward poetry a medium for the expression of individual reactions toward inanimate as well as animate life and introduced an attempt to make the sound of words themselves convey different emotions. But Wordsworth, even in his most delicate portraits of nature—with the exception of the daffodil poem, and one or two others—could not kill within himself a belief in the venerable tradition that " Poetry must be a reflection of human nature in all of its noblest aspects." So the moral and preaching note entered and marred his definite pictures. Still, he sounded the first weak bugle call for another striving toward poetry—a striving which contends that poetry need have no direct connection with the salient motifs of human nature, and need only paint a picture, without comment, or supplemented by the poet's purely spiritual reaction, utterly disregarding human morals and favorite human beliefs.

This second broad trend taken by man's pursuit of poetry, struggled on through poets no better or worse than Wordsworth, and made little progress, although some of the others—Shelley and Keats, and last of all, Swinburne—used the sound of words as an effective aid toward the utterance of strong spiritual exaltation.

Browning threw aside the " must be a reflection of human nature " tradition, and, to make some of his poems clear word paintings, mingled them with the reactions of his soul. But, in Browning, intricacies of spirit were predominant and weaving of words into intangible tone pictures was secondary. Only with the coming of the French symbolists, and after them what is called modern poetry, did poetry definitely enter into the completion of its second large trend. Poets, the word must be used for identification, are finally moved, somewhat in unison, by an aim which has brought, and will in the future bring, them many suggestions of poetry. But what poetry really is, is still as hazy to poets and laymen as it always has been. The deep, unformed longing to escape from the drab nightmare of physical daily details, perhaps even to glorify the details in an impersonal way and find escape in that, has been the cause of all art. But artists have only of late begun to feel that the established forms of all art have been but feeble gropings toward a far distant point.

Pure poetry is the vibrant expression of everything clearly delicate and unattached with surface sentiment in the emotions of men toward themselves and nature. That pursuit of poetry which has as its basis the wrongs of the poor, or the utterance of the broader emotional surges of humanity, may have an undying place in literature, but it cannot be the basis of a separate art. The distinct social message or sermon, no matter how right or much needed it may be, is only of a utilitarian or corrective value, although it may rise to tremendous heights of clear prose strength. True poetry is the entering of delicately imaginative plateaus, unconnected with human beliefs or fundamental human feelings. When poetic style is rescued from its position of chambermaid to some " burning message " or " noble idea," and dressed so deftly and fantastically that it becomes its own reason for existence, poetry will reach these plateaus in greater quantity than occasional lines or widely separated poems. Then, philosophy, political economy and obvious sentimentality will be expressed in the prose rhythm best suited to them, and poetry will be made a separate art, instead of a delicate dancer chained by the undying desire of men to instruct each other.

MAXWELL BODENHEIM.

CORRESPONDENCE

Governmental Housing

SIR: The article on Governmental Housing in a recent number of The New Republic is timely and interesting, but unfortunately presents a narrow, one-sided and impractical view. The proper housing of wage earners is always a problem of importance, the adequate solution of which has so far baffled mankind. In war time the subject becomes fundamental to successful industrial and military operations, and the difficulties of financing, planning and building homes are so much greater, and the requirements for speed so essential, that government aid becomes imperative.

There is no need to reply in detail to Mr. Pope's statement, but the main views advanced are so misleading that some counter statement should be offered to the consideration of the readers of The New Republic. The principal points to note are the following:

1. The attempt to discredit the individual-home-ownership policy is unfortunate. " The American Home, the Safeguard of American Liberties," the motto of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, may be a bit sentimental. Yet there is no escaping from the significance of the figures of these associations and the coöperative banks. The last report of the secretary gives a membership of 3,568,342 in 7,034 associations, with total assets amounting to $1,696,707,041. Workmen should not and cannot be required by employers, or any one else, to become home owners against their will, but the opportunity to do so should be vastly extended.

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2. Co-partnership in housing, as in other matters, should be energetically advocated. In this matter we have much to learn from England and other countries. It would be a mistake, however, to overlook two facts: first, that the conditions in the United States are less favorable, on the whole, for co-partnership and other coöperative enterprises; and secondly, that these enterprises are not well adapted for the emergency of the War. They are inadequate in extent, and much too slow.

3. The attempt to discourage the employer's participation in housing operations is unfortunate, and the statement of his attitude is, in my judgment, untrue. The writer of the article affirms that "the employer has not been and is not likely to be a disinterested adviser, and there is no reason for expecting disinterested advice from him in the matter of the proposed housing policy." I believe that the employer as a rule has the same desirable combination of selfishness and altruism in this matter of housing which is back of the best work of the world in other fields. In fact, successful industrial housing is hardly conceivable without the coöperation of employers of labor and other business men.

4. Mr. Pope says, "As for the real estate developer, it must at once be granted that his motives are selfish, and scarcely concerned beyond immediate prospects of profit." This may be true in many cases, but the need is not to take this whole business out of the real estate operators' hands, but to bring it more strictly within public regulation and control by means of reasonable restrictions. For example, the Cleveland Homes Company, recently organized through the efforts of public spirited members of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, has proposed a practical method by which homes for workers would be secured mainly through coöperation with the real estate dealers operating in the city.

5. The writer of the earlier article in The New Republic states that "we shall not find one constructive example that can be repeated to the advantage of all classes of workers. We shall find not one that has even approached the problem of the housing of the low paid classes." Happily, the facts are otherwise. There are many examples of good housing in the United States—not perfect, perhaps, but worthy of imitation, repetition, and adaptation to the various requirements of wage earners. A list of more than fifty of these examples has been printed recently in a check list in the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, and in a pamphlet published by the American Civic Association entitled "A Good Home for Every Wage Earner." A few illustrations of reasonably successful work in this field are the following: American Brass Company, Waterbury, Conn.; American Woolen Company, Lawrence, Mass.; Billerica Garden Suburb, Billerica, Mass.; Cincinnati Model Homes Company; Draper Company, Hopedale, Mass.; Goodyear Heights, Akron, Ohio; Improved Housing Association, New Haven, Conn.; Kenosha (Wis.) Homes Company; Modern Homes Company, Youngstown, Ohio; Norton Company, Indian Hill, Worcester, Mass.; Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia; Riverdale, Rome, N. Y.; Viscose Company, Marcus Hook, Del.; the Washington (D. C.) Sanitary Improvement Company; Westerly Gardens, Bound Brook, N. J.; the Woodlawn Company, Wilmington, Del.

6. It is true that the best social and economic results require different methods from those usually employed, but the statement that one might quite as justifiably expect success from the effort of each worker to install his own water supply or build the street in front of his house, turns attention in the wrong direction. The most essential needs in normal times are better planning, wholesale operations, the elimination of excessive speculative profits, and in the case of home ownership, financial coöperation. Houses, however, should be provided for rent as well as for sale. The methods should vary, and may come from the initiative and coöperation of employers or groups of employers or business men, or real estate operators, co-partnership companies, public authorities, or a combination of some or all of these.

7. Finally, it should be recognized that a good home for every wage earner can be provided only by recognizing that housing is intimately and permanently related to a number of large and difficult problems. Some of these are planning problems, some questions of broad economic policy. The first step toward a solution, however, is to recognize that the subject is primarily one for the right application of broad economic principles. In some thoroughgoing way we must convert the great forces which now produce bad housing to produce good housing, and we must do it by bringing into control and coöperation with them the forces that believe in good housing and will gain from it, which are mainly the manufacturing and business interests that depend upon the efficient and happy workman.

There is no place here even to outline the relation of the Government to housing as a war time measure. It is bound to come up again and again during the next months, and will therefore be discussed from various point of view by those who are qualified to speak.

JOHN NOLEN.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Van Dyke on Traitors

SIR: Being engaged as a volunteer in the service of our country in this war, speaking almost daily in behalf of the reason and right of our cause, I have been grateful for the fidelity with which the hard-worked newspaper reporters have generally recorded my remarks. But, as the proverb says, "Accidents will happen even in the best regulated families." It is doubtless due to one of these accidents in a newspaper report that a correspondent in your number of December 1st has reproached me, with others, for advocating mob law and violence in dealing with pro-Germans, seditious persons, and presumptive traitors.

This is an absolutely false report. I have never advocated nor approved anything of that kind. The main safeguard of liberty is the stability of order. It is by law, civil in time of peace, martial in time of war, that the sacred and inalienable rights of men and the life of the republic must be protected.

Your correspondent's letter is probably based upon an inaccurate account of a dinner given by the Authors' Club on November 1st. This is what I said on that occasion:

"Any inhabitant of this country who puts destructive material into the machinery of the ships which are carrying our brave boys across the ocean to serve under our flag, is a constructive murderer and a traitor. He should face a traitor's trial and a traitor's doom. Shooting would be too good for him. If convicted he should be hung without delay. The same thing is true of every man who puts destructive material into the minds of our American citizens, urging them to be disloyal or recalcitrant, persuading them to evade or to resist the call which our country has made for the service of all its people in the defense

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of its rights and its honor. These men, whether they are candidates for the mayoralty or any other office, or merely irresponsible emitters of hot air, are in fact trying to obstruct and impede the action of the Ship of State. They are imperiling the unity, the welfare, the success of our country in this great struggle which has been forced upon her by Germany. Let them reckon with their own conscience in the sight of God for their private thoughts and feelings. But if they speak treason, or act treason, or incite others to treason, they also must face a traitor's trial and a traitor's doom. Upon conviction shooting would be too honorable a punishment to inflict upon such criminals. When proved guilty, it seems to me, they should be promptly hung. For while they go at large and continue their nefarious work, they imperil the lives of thousands of loyal citizens and the safety of the republic."

By this I stand, in spite of the articles of the Socialist newspaper, the Call, under the title of "The Guillotine." Any one who wants me can easily find me, and the guillotine in America is an idle menace.

Let me add a few words to make clear my position in regard to enemy aliens, pro-Germans, professional pacifists, Potsdam Socialists and all that crowd. This is what I think we ought to do.

We should check and restrain an indiscriminate, hysterical campaign of proscription, boycottage and persecution against people who have German names, a German accent, or German blood in their veins. Many of them are among our best citizens. Many of them are here just because they or their forefathers emigrated to escape from that system of irresponsible, militaristic autocracy for which the imperial German government stood.

But, on the other hand, in this time of war in which our country's conscience is engaged, we should be firm and resolute against any one who tries to impede or cripple our country's cause. Fines, imprisonment, internment in a comfortable camp in the South, are altogether inadequate. In many cases they are only rewards for treachery and encouragements to continue the warfare. We ought to be more strict, straight and promptly just in punishing sedition and treason.

For example: a man who is found on an American transport ship with an explosive bomb concealed on his person should be executed without debate or delay.

A man who by speech or action endeavors to impede America's efficiency in this righteous war should be judged by the law, and if convicted, promptly executed.

Our policy, up to now, shows the "defects of its qualities." We are friendly, good-natured, long-suffering. But what we need now is to realize that we are up against a power which opposes and despises all our national principles.

Since that power has chosen war as the method of settling international differences, we must do what we can to cancel that false, immoral choice. We must fight against the imperial German government on the battlefront and we must repress and suppress, by all lawful means, the activities of its agents and friends in this country.

HENRY VAN DYKE.

Princeton, New Jersey.

Improvized Negro Songs

SIR: The letter in The New Republic recently by Mr. T. G. Stewart, of my own state, on negro imagery, brought back to mind some notes that I made about ten years ago from a younger generation of Negroes along the Ohio River. At that time tobacco was being cultivated for the first time very extensively along the river on the Kentucky and West Virginia sides, which necessitated an influx of the southern type of Negro in large numbers. A government engineer in charge of the construction of a dam that took seven years to build, often invited me to attend the Negro camp meetings, and in the glowing light of the torches we jotted down as best we could the words that were sung, chanted or shouted. This seemed to him a hobby, incidentally, and I trust he will, some day, give them to the world through some channel in their entirety, for his note-book is full.

As the meetings "warmed up" three or four songs at one time would be in the air. Sometimes a song would be repeated for an hour at a time, with much clapping and clatter, in one section of the gathering.

The songs seemed to be weirdly executed—possibly in a spiritualistic manner—and, strange to say, seldom if ever were they delivered with the same words. These were supplied, it seemed, at random, just so they suited the tune. In this the Negro was extremely resourceful.

Here is one that seemed very popular:

"Hold your light, Brudder Robert—
Hold your light,
Hold your light on Canaan's shore.

What make ole Satan for follow me so?
Satan ain't got notin' for do wid me.
Hold your light,
Hold your light,
Hold your light on Canaan's shore."

There seemed, beneath it all, a feeling that they were oppressed; that they would do their best here, but were longing for the end. They believed firmly, as shown by their songs, that a future reward awaited them. Their songs were all of a religious tone. The songs were pathetic, to say the least.

Patience seemed to be expressed in:

"Brudder, keep your lamps trimmin' and a-burnin',
Keep your lamp trimmin' and a-burnin',
Keep your lamp trimmin' and a-burnin',
For dis world's most done."

This patience seemed to be rewarded by:

"Dere's no rain to wet you,
O, yes, I want to go home (repeated after each line).
Dere's is no sun to burn you,
O, push along, believers,
Dere's no hard trials,
Dere's no whip a-crackin',
My brudder on de wayside,
O, push along, believers,
Where dere's no stormy weather."

A strange picture of future happiness and hospitality was shown when a bass voice announced, "Walk 'Em Easy":

"O, walk 'em easy round de heaven,
Dat all de people may join de band.
Walk 'em easy round de heaven,
O, shout glory till 'em join dat band!"

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"The Ship of Zion" was very much liked. It had half a dozen versions, one of which follows:

"De Gospel ship is sailin',
Hosann—sann (repeat after each line).
O, Jesus is de captain,
De angels are de sailors,
O, is your bundle ready?
O, have you got your ticket?"

Songs were manufactured or woven by groups of Negroes to suit occasions, like this one:

"O, de ole nigger-driver!
O, gwine away! (repeat after each line.)
First ting my mammy tell me,
Tell me about de nigger-driver,
Nigger-driver second devil,
Best ting for do he driver,
Knock he down and spoil he labor."

The songs all seemed to afford the Negro a tie to Heaven and were a great stimulus to courage. I never heard a vulgar song. All had a religious motive. The songs were learned by ear, and changed to suit any occasion.

Groups of Negroes were known to sing, with scarcely a break, from morning till night. It would be interesting to me to learn if any oppressed race, which they were, was ever held up by religious sentiment alone.

KARL LEMMERMANN.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Luxuries and Labor Shortage

SIR: In The New Republic of October 20th you have an editorial on labor shortage. I believe the following suggestion would go a long way toward relieving this labor shortage.

I am what you might call an ex-I. W. W. I was a member of the Western Federation of Miners when it went into the I. W. W. about eleven or twelve years ago, but after the first couple of years I have had little or nothing to do with them. The thing that appealed to most of the miners about the I. W. W. was that it was organized on industrial instead of on craft lines. The craft organizations with their different agreements made it possible for one organization to scab on another to destroy the effectiveness of a strike. Another thing that appealed to most of the miners was the attack the I. W. W. made on the labor trusts with their high initiation fees, closed unions and restrictions on apprenticeship. There is nothing in the record of the capitalist class that can skin the labor trust for greed. The I. W. W. has done one good thing in showing up the hogs.

Eleven or twelve years ago the I. W. W. was not so thoroughly committed to sabotage as now. There were lots of men in the organization who did not believe in it. I remember very well a number of men who advocated just the opposite tactics to sabotage. They believed, for instance, that miners should act as if the mine belonged to them—do everything to carry on the work in the most efficient and workmanlike manner. They believed it was good tactics to refuse to work in wildcat mines, to refuse to work at anything that did not produce, directly or indirectly, things that would be of use to the working class, to refuse to work as servants of the rich, to refuse to build any costly private dwelling, to refuse to make any expensive clothing, to refuse to produce any luxuries until there were enough of the primary necessities to supply every one, to refuse to quit when fired, to demand that no man who wanted work should be turned away. They believed the slogan of the working class should be "every man has a right to a job."

It is the power to refuse employment to a man that makes it possible for some to spend large sums of money on themselves while others starve. The power to refuse employment makes it possible to cut down production. Cutting down production raises prices. Throwing men on the labor market lowers wages. The differences between wages and raised prices is profit. What the laboring man wants to do is to cut out producing luxuries for someone else and produce more of the essentials. This will lower the price of essentials and make it possible to command higher wages.

But now the I. W. W. and other unions injure the working man and his cause instead of helping him, when they destroy anything or stop useful production. They cut off their nose to spite their face. Some time ago you stated in an editorial that it was the policy of the I. W. W. to hamper production so all business would become unprofitable, thus forcing business to turn itself over to a socialist republic. The I. W. W. make a mistake in thinking decreased production will make business unprofitable. Decreased production makes prices higher, wages lower and profits greater.

Now is the best time the workingman ever had to come into his own. The needs of the government are the same as the needs of the workingman. The workingman has more to gain by this war than anyone else. In order to win this war the government must cut out the production of luxuries and produce more of the essentials.

In such production the workingman will have more help now than he will ever have. Frank Vanderlip, president of a great bank, and a government adviser, advises bankers to refuse loans to men who wish to invest it in things that have not considerable utility. This is right in line with the workingman's interests.

If the I. W. W. must bomb someone, let him bomb those who throw whole ship loads of bananas into the ocean, or those who destroy carloads of food, or those who withhold food from use. If he must destroy something, let him destroy some of the booze that is stored away throughout the country. This would be less harmful than destroying crops.

Prescott, Arizona. WM. CROCKER.

What is an Intellectual?

SIR: What is an "intellectual"? If we must use this lately overworked word, which to my nostrils doth smack a little of the worst form of snobbery, may we not at least use it with a certain inclusiveness? Have we no warrant for calling any man who does his own thinking an "intellectual"? May we only call him an "intellectual" if his own thinking leads him to extreme radicalism? Are there no liberal, no conservative intellectuals? Is it even certain that there are no wholly Bourbon intellectuals?

I am moved to ask these questions because I have noted for some months past that the younger and more ardent of our radicals, from poetic journalists to journalistic poets, have taken a great fancy to this word. They have bestowed it upon themselves as an exclusive title and distinction, and they withhold it firmly from all who do not agree with them. With the editors of The Seven Arts they con-

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ceive of themselves as fostering "the fine spirit of a young America which tomorrow shall come into its own. . . . It is the spirit of the young world, without frontiers, without kings, without industrial despotism." And without, one guesses, much sense for the ironic twinkling of the stars they would hitch their wagons to. Not that one would have them aspire less; it isn't their aspiration, it's their perspiration one objects to. Witness the words of Mr. Padraic Colum in your issue of September 2nd: "To write in favor of that which the great interests of the world are against is what I conceive to be the duty and the privilege of the intellectual."

From a rather careful reading from week to week in our more radical publications I have at length arrived, and without previous prejudice, at the following conception of our American Intellectuals, so lovingly self-styled:

An American Intellectual is any writer for publication, whether a citizen of the United States, or alien resident thereof, who believes our country is a financial oligarchy camouflaged as a democracy. To be worthy of the title he must, in addition, be a Conscientious Objector—not only to war, but to pretty much everything in the way of a national obligation. He must be doing all he can, within or without the law, to interfere with our successful prosecution of the present war. He must denounce the draft, and any curtailment of his personal privileges, which he must always refer to as his Rights. He must sneer at any symptoms of awakening patriotism as atavistic outbreaks of brutish herd-psychology. Moreover, it will make his possession of the title even more secure if he is a Revolutionary Socialist; inalienable, if he is a Proletarian Anarchist. And finally, it should be counted to him for an added grace if he is an upholder of Sinn Fein, or a German sympathizer.

Now isn't it just conceivable—I put the question with humbleness—that here and there an American may be using his intellect fairly and fearlessly upon our present national and social problems, doing his thinking at first, not at second hand, and yet not coming to *all* the conclusions suggested above? If one is not a doctrinaire pacifist is one therefore a low-brow? It is fatally certain that loyalty to one's country (if the country be not Ireland) is a preliminary symptom to softening of the brain? Can only a moron believe in war-time censorship of public speech and printed opinion? Or, if nowadays one thrills a little with affectionate pride at the sight of gathering troops and the passing flag—should one's family be warned, and an alienist at once consulted?

LEE WILSON DODD.

New Haven, Connecticut.

Housing the Laborer

SIR: I refer to the article on Governmental Housing by R. A. Pope in your issue of November 24th, and I agree heartily with his statement that, "We have but to examine the results of the private housing activities of the last twenty-five years to convince ourselves that we have been on the wrong track."

I speak of conditions here in New Orleans, with which I am most familiar, and of the period immediately preceding our entrance into the war. Unskilled labor was earning then from $1.50 to $2.00 a day, perhaps $40.00 a month on the average after deducting time lost; making the payment of even $8.00 a month rent a difficult matter for a man of family, while it was not possible to rent a small four-room and bath house for less than $16.00—just double of what he could afford to pay.

I have tried, myself, to plan a small four-room house that would be within the means of the better paid laborer, at least; but I found that a house of the simplest kind, with two very small independent bedrooms, bath, living room and kitchen with everything eliminated but the absolutely essential, could not be built for less than $1,500, to which must be added the cost of a site say $200, a total investment of $1,700; allowing 6 per cent on the investment and adding taxes (3 per cent on 80 per cent of value) depreciation and repairs, lost rents, etc., these costs would call for a rent of about $17 a month. That my costs were not unreasonably high is confirmed by the prevailing rents here for small houses: for a four-room house without bath, with the rooms arranged one behind the other (making the bedrooms mere passageways to the back of the house), and toilet in the back yard, the rent is $12 to $13; the same type of house with bath and porch rents for $16 or $17, with very few of these last being built because they fail to earn 7 per cent, the current rate of interest here on small property. It is certain that here in New Orleans the unskilled laborer finds it impossible to live in a decent house; even if his wife works, the most they can hope for is to occupy one of the $12 a month houses—houses inadequately ventilated and flimsily built, red hot in summer and cold as outdoors in winter, with no privacy for the bedroom, no bath, and the toilet in the back yard.

In other parts of the United States conditions do not seem to be very different: the Octavia Hill Association, of Philadelphia, although buying the land at wholesale and building a group of forty houses at once, eliminating all profits of land speculators or building contractors, building houses of the simplest character without a dollar wasted anywhere, have not been able to earn the current rate of interest on their investment; the experience of the Woodlawn Co., of Wilmington, Del., is similar, as is also that of the Washington Sanitary Housing Co. and of other semi-benevolent companies whose statements I have seen. They have all failed to earn adequate dividends, and it has been very difficult for them to enlist additional capital for any new construction. It is true some large employers of labor are furnishing good housing at rents within the reach of their unskilled labor; but it is certain they cannot be earning the current rate of interest on the investment; and at the best, the number of laborers so housed constitutes an inconsiderable fraction of the total number, and can have little if any influence on the solution of the problem.

Mr. Pope is almost certainly correct in believing that the problem of decent housing for our laborers will never be solved by private enterprise, although the much berated land sharks, speculative builders and selfish manufacturers have little if anything to do with our failure. The reason is simple enough: our laborers do not earn enough to pay for decent housing. If they cannot earn more than they have been earning in the past, then they must continue to be housed like cattle, that's all, unless the state is prepared to pay part of the cost of housing as it now pays for education and medical attention. It is a very large question, and we surely need all the help that we can get from the English experiments in housing the munitions workers. I am sure your readers would be interested in further details.

ROWLAND OTIS.

New Orleans, Louisiana.

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VERSE

The Sea of the North

Waveless and still under the southern sun, the southern sea,
Waveless and still for many a mile, southward and ever southward
To where a tropic isle lies, coral formed, with fierce, wild birds
Watching their prey above the clear, deep waters;
Or to a long, low, verdured shore gently lapped by languorous tides,
With moist malarial forests dark,
Heavy with scent of strange and poisonous blooms,
Hints of whose odors over the stillness come,
And visions of naked men in fragile boats
(The negro there is kin to them).
The air is drowsy and vague thoughts, faint tremors come
Bearing the splendor of the Equatorial Zone.

Oh the sea is the sea the world around,
But the sea that I love is the sea of the North,
Of the rocky coast and the northeast gale,
Of the wintry winds and the pelting rains.
And the spring time (Ah, never the South knows spring!)
With the air full of lilac, fruit blossom, wild rose,
Each in its turn as May turns to June;
And the gay water, sad water, storm tossed or sun stilled,
The million-tinted, fierce and reckless northern sea,
Unchangeable and ever changing, holding in an iron grip
My deathless love—my vision changes and it comes to cheer my exile
And I think again of that dear, distant coast, New England's shore,
To thee anew I pledge my love, O Northern Sea!

HOVYD GRAHAM.

Queen Liliuokalani

(Buried November 19, 1917)

Aloha, valiant Queen who to the end
  Made of indignity a crown
And not until you died would condescend
  To lay your kingdom down,
Child-woman, Queen of children, born for fun,
  For play, for make-believe, increase
Your royal heritage, earth, water, sun.
  And take them now in peace!

WITTER BYNNER.

An Englishman's Cup

Tea and the fire, low laughter,
  And faces, lightly kind:
Their cheer of old, hereafter,
  Shall I, returning, find?

Forget, through white thorn alleys
  Or lanes, thin-veiled with snow,
These red, befouled, French valleys
  Shall I go back to know?

Light laughter, toast and fireside,
  And eyes, half-kind, half-cold?
Homeward across the shire ride
  At tea-time as of old?

INEZ TEMPLE.

Flame from Ashes

She saw him turning toward the little gate
Out of the darkening way, trench-worn and grim,
And ran to hold a flushed face up to him,
Swift arms wild-welcoming him, desired and late.
But even as she ran the vision faded out,
Leaving between her and the line of trees
A swimming image, melting by degrees
Into a wraith of tears and bitter doubt.

Trembling she lifted up the knotted string
That held the wicket; long and shadowy-gray
In empty dusk the dusty road reached on
To touch an eastern moon; vague darkness lay
Under the bridge; she heard far church-bells ring
Ushering another night, another dawn.

MAXWELL ANDERSON.

Earth Evanescent

If other planets dark as earth
  About dim trembling stars
Carry frail freight of death and birth,
  Wild love, and endless wars;

If from far, unseen motes in flight
  Life look down questioning
This helpless passage through the night
  Is a less lonely thing:

But if unchained through empty space
  Drift only shell and fire
What seeks the beauty of this face,
  What end has its desire?

A candle in a night of storms,
  Blown back and choked with rain,
Holds longer than the mounting forms
  That ride time's hurricane.

MAXWELL ANDERSON.

Au clair de lune

(*By Paul Verlaine*)

Your soul is like a landscape rare
  Where masques and bergamasques hold sway,
Touching the lute and dancing, half aware
  Of sadness, underneath their guises gay.

Though singing in a minor mood
  Love the triumphant, life the fair
A strain of sorrow seems to brood
  Within their song, a moonlight-blended air;

A melody of moonlight, sad and clear,
  Wooing the birds within the trees to dreaming,
Charming to sobs the fountains far and near,
  The slender founts, amid the marbles gleaming.

S. K. T.

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At the Capitol

In Search of War Efficiency

THREE committees of Congress have begun an investigation of the manner in which the war is being fought. Three more might well be started upon an investigation of what the war is being fought for. Though Congress is discovering that it knows relatively little of military needs, inside of the war bureaus, other investigations would convince it that it knows even less of military needs, outside of them.

This is the conclusion necessary after examining the debate in Congress upon the question of going to war with Austria, and it bears directly upon the military efficiency Congress is now seeking. The debate came shortly after Mr. Wilson had again emphasized the need of reinforcing Allied arms with the resources of a genuinely unified objective and a policy of political liberalism which would give aid and comfort to democratic groups within the Central Powers. To these two Allied assets the President devoted the major part of his address. How great a hope he placed in them is shown in the arrangements made for the translation of his message into a score of languages and its immediate transmission to every neutral and belligerent nation.

It will be disappointing if neutrals and belligerents show as poor an appreciation of the objectives of that message as the Senate and the House have shown. In the Senate five members spoke on the war resolution. Only one of them, Mr. Hitchcock, seems to have caught the President's desire to promote victory by unifying war aims. Mr. Lodge, to be sure, also saw the benefits of political unity among the Allies. But he saw it as a different and less difficult problem. Our allies were at war, not only with Germany and Austria, but also with Bulgaria and Turkey. We were at war with Germany; we were soon to be at war with Austria; but we neither were, nor were soon to be, at war with Bulgaria and Turkey. Let us, therefore, declare war upon Bulgaria and Turkey and achieve Allied unity of purpose. It was a straightforward plan, of a piece with the strategy that set out to unite Progressives and Republicans behind Mr. Hughes, a year ago.

Mr. Hitchcock, ranking Democratic member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, had a more realistic understanding. Possibly the last presidential campaign had shown him that unity needs a positive and not a negative starting-point. In a speech which must have made the printer of the Congressional Record uneasy lest the government lose its own second-class mailing privileges, he asserted: "My first view had been . . . that if we declared war upon Austria we would in a large measure be indorsing the extreme and unreasonable demand of Italy against Austria which keeps Austria in the war." This was not an obstructionist's grumble. It was Mr. Hitchcock who, when Senator Stone failed, piloted through the Senate the original declaration of war against Germany. What Mr. Hitchcock emphasized, in the present instance, was the fact that political considerations can keep enemy nations in the war, or force them out of it. He saw in the President's message something more than the address of an executive to the legislative body about to vote him funds. He saw in it the reply to a challenging liberalism from all parts of the world. He was persuaded to a declaration of war by the President's assurance of Austrian integrity. Thus one Senator in five gave his support to Mr. Wilson's efforts at attaining Allied unity. In the House the proportion was not so great.

For of the twenty-seven congressmen who explained the necessity of war upon Austria, twenty-five showed no understanding of the President's political purposes. Mr. London and Mr. Borland were the exceptions. But Mr. London refused to put his vote where it would indorse those purposes. And Mr. Borland was left as the sole representative of the House in catching the drift of what the President hoped to make self-evident in Vienna. "Whether the armies shall be put under the command of one general," said Mr. Borland, "and, if so, from what nation he will be chosen, is in my opinion a secondary question." The first essential was so to unify Allied war aims that military unity would be a consequence rather than an instance of good fortune.

For a Congress which is now so insistently inquiring into the means of attaining maximum military efficiency, failure to seize this issue was an opportunity lost. But Mr. Wilson proposed a second essential reinforcement of military strategy. This was his emphasis of our position as both enemy and liberator. The President was, with other liberals, insistent upon a vigorous military offensive. He was also equally insistent upon an equally vigorous political offensive. He proposed to offer the peoples at the base of our future security an intelligible and compelling alternative.

This method of attack, also, was not understood in Congress. Aside from Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. London, thirty members of Congress made speeches upon the declaration of war against Austria—all of them completing their remarks without any reference whatever to the policy which set our action in its true frame: "We do not wish in any way to impair or rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire." No one of these members took up the President's promise of "free economic intercourse" to the Germany and Austria with whom we shall be willing to make peace—or seemed to realize that this promise, although not ammunition for a siege gun, might nevertheless be a powerful weapon of offense.

With some detail many congressmen reviewed the submarine warfare which did not draw us into war with Austria last April, but, now that we were in it, in spite of their reasoning, they failed to review the policy that would assist our armies in their attack—the policy proposed in Mr. Wilson's comment upon wrongs "not to be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies," and his assurance that "no one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire."

It may be that those members of Congress who did not speak on the subject of war with Austria had a surer understanding of the President's policies than those who did—that they appreciated how unity of purpose and the encouragement of liberalism in Central Europe were inseparable, and how both were indispensable to the "complete" victory for which so many good words were spoken. If there were members closer to the President's position than those who stood as his interpreters, it is unfortunate that they did not accept this opportunity to demonstrate their support. For as the war upon illiberalism in all lands nears its crisis, the President has less need of submissiveness in Congress than of active participation in his ambitions. The patriotism of the members who spoke in favor of war upon Austria cannot be questioned. Neither can the emptiness of their contribution. Doubtless they are standing behind the President. But it is too far behind to catch what he is saying.

C. M.

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Books and Things

A FEW years ago, when Sir Sidney Colvin gave up his post as keeper of prints and drawings in the British Museum, he turned again to Keats. This book is the result of his studies. He had felt the lack of "any one book giving a full and connected account of" Keats's "life and poetry together in the light of our present knowledge and with help of all the available material." Such is the book he intended to write, and such, exactly, is the book he has written. Until some chance discovery of fresh material antiquates it, this must remain the standard authority upon Keats, as accurate as patient scholarship can make it, and interesting to all scholarly and unscholarly lovers of poetry.

The reading which Sir Sidney Colvin did thirty years ago, before writing his distinguished volume on Keats for the English Men of Letters series, left him with many fresh and unsatisfied curiosities. The rewards of these are to be found everywhere in this new volume. "Throughout Keats's work," Sir Sidney tells us, "the sources of his inspiration in his finest passages can almost always be recognized as dual, some special joy in the delights or sympathy with the doings of nature working together in him with some special stimulus derived from books." No one else, attempting thus to relate particular passages in Keats to the books he had been reading, to the landscape, the pictures and prints he had been looking at, has had anything like Sir Sidney Colvin's knowledge. When knowledge is wanting he sometimes guesses, acutely and persuasively, as when he finds the metrical model for In a drear-nighted December in a song from Dryden's Spanish Fryar, or attributes to Keats's memory of Claude's Sacrifice to Apollo the "little town" of the Ode on a Grecian Urn. No one else has painted Keats's background half so well as Sir Sidney, or planted Keats's friends, Cowden Clarke, Brown, Reynolds, Bailey, Woodhouse, so firmly on their legs, or placed the poet himself in such a three-dimensioned world.

This book gives its readers two kinds of confidence in Sir Sidney Colvin. First, confidence in his ability to discover and to tell the truth, whenever that feat is humanly speaking possible. Second, confidence in the preferences of his taste. One cannot read far without a growing inclination to agree with the author whenever he says he likes one version of a poem better than another. One dissents sometimes, to be sure, as when one finds Sir Sidney Colvin preferring "On the cold hill side" to "On the cold hill's side" in La Belle Dame Sans Merci. Does not the second form lengthen and retard the line, and give it a desirable weight? Isn't one likely to feel the last foot, if the extra *s* be omitted, too much as an iambus and too little as a spondee? But one's general impression is that Sir Sidney Colvin is a wise guide to the best text.

Both sides of Keats as a human being are shown in these pages—the Keats who wrote the most abject of the letters to Fanny Braune, and the Keats who had, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, "flint and iron in him." We see him as a boy, trim, well-knit, popular, spirited, quick-tempered, equally ready to fight and to make friends. After his intellectual awakening, in his fifteenth and sixteenth years, he became ambitious and remained so as long as his health lasted. How many men have you known who combined genuine ambition with genuine modesty? In Keats's character this alliance was as distinguishing as the alliance of extreme sensibility with fortitude. Wounded he undoubtedly was for the moment by the gross fury of Blackwood's and the Quarterly's attacks upon him, but he was the last man to display his wounds or to nurse a sense of injury. He seems to have estimated these attacks at about their true importance, as capable of harming him by restricting the number of his readers, as in all other ways things to be forgotten.

Sir Sidney Colvin does not undertake to explain that which cannot be explained in the character of Keats. The unanswerable question remains unanswered: How could a resoluteness such as his exist side by side with his self-abandonment, how could his dignity, which he must have been aware of and must have valued, have failed to keep him from expressing his self-abandonment in just the terms that he chose? The best we can do is to remember that Keats's health had begun to fail before he met Fanny Braune, although his first hemorrhage, his "death-warrant," did not come until a year later.

Very useful, to anyone who wishes to understand Keats, is Sir Sidney Colvin's insistence upon the true meaning of the much-quoted words, "O for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts!" "Let it never be forgotten," Keats's biographer writes, "that 'sensations' contrasted with 'thoughts' mean for Keats not pleasures and experiences of the senses as opposed to these of the mind, but direct intuitions of the imagination as opposed to deliberate processes of the understanding." It is impossible to read this book and doubt the truth of this, although I for one cannot pretend that I should have been outraged had the opposite turned out to be the truth. Keats's own words bear out his biographer. He notices with pleasure that Shakespeare is "capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason." "Axioms in philosophy are not axioms," he says in another letter "until they are proved upon our pulses."

One thing has struck me in reading this book which would not have struck a better-informed reader, namely, that nearly every line of Keats's best poetry was written in two years of his short life. In January, 1818, he wrote "When I have fears that I may cease to be." From that time until he stopped writing, and in spite of intervals of idleness and depression, of weeks when the torment of being in love kept him from work, his two years were anni mirabiles. Most remarkable of all were the last few days of April and the month of May, 1819, in which time he wrote the Odes to Psyche, On Indolence, On a Grecian Urn, To a Nightingale, To Melancholy. The ardor of Keats's mind and his willingness to take infinite pains in order to be a poet, were accompanied by an astonishing ease in the creative process. When walking with Brown in the Guy Mannering country, Keats, who had not read the novel, listened while Brown talked about Meg Merriles. Immediately afterwards he wrote out, as part of a letter to his sister Frances, the Meg Merriles ballad, in which, as Sir Sidney Colvin tells us, he used the "ballad form for the first time" and "handled it with faultless tact."

The most original part of the volume is Sir Sidney Colvin's gallant attempt to revive interest in Endymion as a whole by revealing the meaning of its design. Inveterate lovers of Keats will prize this attempt, and all his lovers will be grateful for the reproduction of the life mask from an electrotype in the National Portrait Gallery. The Keats represented here has a facial angle of singular beauty, a something Florentine in the look of him. But why did Sir Sidney Colvin choose Severn's insipid portrait for reproduction in color as his frontispiece? How came Severn to forget, even after the lapse of almost forty years, that Keats had a forehead?

P. L.

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The Russian Revolution

The Soul of the Russian Revolution, by Moissaye J. Olgin. Introduction by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $2.50.

BEFORE the Bolsheviki got on top in Russia the American feeling about the revolution was strikingly uniform. The pogrom, the Cossack, the knout, Siberia—these are household words in Britain and America, symbolic of the infamy of Tsardom. Men who take a conservative position on home affairs have seldom had difficulty in feeling sympathy with the Russian struggle from the early day of nihilism; all America clearly rejoiced over the revolution. In the President's war message in April it was embraced as the happiest of political circumstances. It was with the Tsar's Russia that England and France had joined hands in the war with Germany. President Wilson gloried in the fact that this formal ally was destroyed, that a real ally had been created by process of revolution. In the first years of the war, it is true, an effort had been made in England to whitewash the Russian government, to disguise the fact that a most loathsome dynasty and a most corrupt and incompetent bureaucracy were associated with England and France in the war. The convulsion in Russia saved ourselves the problem of any such hypocrisy. It cleared the Russian people of the evil entail from Romanoff diplomats, left them free to disown every selfish aim that had actuated the old order and to espouse the war in the name of only such understandings as could hold and inspire a free people. The mood of Russia toward the war was not, however, the first thing to be scrutinized by the ordinary American who welcomed the revolution. The Allied diplomatists, indeed, were by no means possessed by the idea that new Russia would have to be won to the war, won to the idea of continuing a struggle that was begun under the régime of old Russia and the Tsar.

Since the Bolsheviki began negotiating for peace, however, an entirely new aspect of the revolution has been revealed to American sympathizers. Here is a powerful faction in Russia that is plausibly explained to be either corrupted or beguiled by the Germans. So serious are the consequences of Russian withdrawal, so immense the prestige and power of German arms, that the defection of Russia has the air of criminality or lunacy to those who supposed that the transition from Tsardom to freedom could be accomplished without touching the morale of the war. If the outcome of revolution is a Russia that will not keep its pact with the Allies, then the revolution deserves no sympathy in America—that, in a crude phrase, is a pronounced feeling among certain vocal Americans at present. And Germany chuckles. If there is any failure of sympathy with the revolution, any failure of perception or patience, it is all clear gain for the Germans. The exquisitely pro-German game at the moment is to promote misunderstanding, to sow discord, between the Allies and the Russian revolutionists. To believe Lenine and Trotzky the agents of Germany, to believe the Bolsheviki monsters of baseness or lunacy, to despair of Russia and despise it—that is just the frame of mind for which official Germany prays. If the Bolsheviki can be made sufficiently strong with the Russians and sufficiently weak with the Allies, it is a safe guess that Germany will be able to do business with them. And if the game works, especially if the Bolsheviki are strengthened by outsiders' impatience and antagonism, we may partly thank our own failure to understand the revolution, to meet the aims and aspirations of which Lenine and Trotzky have so recklessly availed themselves.

By reading Mr. Olgin's capacious and intelligent book one grasps, to some extent at least, what the complexity of the revolution must be. Jingoes never admit that there is any difficulty about creating morale. Their bluff formula is to have you lionize those who agree with you and lynch those who don't. But among less sanguine people the creation of morale is admittedly difficult, even in countries where the public is disciplined. Imagine the problem of mobilizing opinion in a country that has a vast illiteracy, that needs to make the army political in order to win its revolution, and that breaks the bonds of habit, political leading-strings, in the very convulsion that threw off the yoke. Imagine the problem of choosing leaders when the supreme consideration of internal adjustment—passionately sought for years and years—is mixed up with the issues of a war that can so easily be minimized by the enemy at the door, that can so readily be confused by Allies occupied with the military situation, far-off. Mr. Olgin does not deal with these specific conditions of a revolution in wartime. He has not so much to say about the revolution in wartime. But by giving us a dynamic estimate and description of the combinations that made up the revolution, the spiritual trinitrotoluol that blew up the government, he allows us to guess what enlisting Russia in the war must require. He himself is anxious to see Russia continue in the war. He accepts the aims set forth by President Wilson, and disagrees with Lenine and Trotzky. But he is too much a Russian, too much steeped in the revolutionary activities for which he was more than once imprisoned, too deeply immersed in the story he tells, to conceive that there is no other formula for the Bolsheviki than "fight or be damned."

The Soul of the Revolution goes to the depth of Russia. The "negligence, indifference and stupid patience" of the peasant is not idolized. The self-analyzing, self-accusing, self-sacrificing intellectual is traced from his first appearance among the nobles to his attempt to lead labor in the flush of the aspirations of 1905. The 12-hour day, the squalor of ten dollars a month in wages, the floggings and shootings, the imprisonment without trial and persecution without warrant, are all contained in a narrative that in reality is a scrupulously intellectual and statistical version of the industrial and agricultural development which underlay the revolution. On the one side we find a sublime autocracy, absolutistic in theory, glorified by adherents who proclaimed, long after the duma was put in its political squirrel-cage, "there is no political power in Russia equal to the power of the Tsar." With this absolutism went martial law, the aristocratic imperial council, religious repression, repressed speech, repressed newspapers, repressed trade unions, privileged nationalities and classes, official manslaughter, universal secret service, political execution by the score (465 in three months of 1906) and political imprisonment by the thousand (70,000 between October, 1905, and April, 1906). On the side opposite to this disguised absolutism and its bureaucracy there was, toward the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, every description of liberty-seeker, the landlords and nobility and gentry in the county councils, their more radical nominees, the constitutional democrats, the fervid Jews and students who were often social democrats, the venturesome "gathering of industrial workingmen" as the first grouping of labor-leaders called themselves. The hideous compact of oppressors and

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parasites kept these extra-governmental forces down, but they seethed underneath. With the inevitable generation of power that goes with industry and new wealth and self-consciousness, autocracy could scarcely force its will. All the bonds of corruption, the strands of duplicity and venality, were not enough to keep the establishment secure. As early as 1903 the Bolsheviki, physical-force extremists, showed the high explosive that repression was generating, and not all the persuasions of the Mensheviki could keep the early Bolsheviki from counting on violent, arbitrary, one-sided revision. When the war came, came the denouement of the bureaucracy. "We wish to save the country—the bureaucracy opposes." All Russia, conservatives as well as rebels, accepted this tremendous truism. If Russia was lost to the Allies after the revolution, the army was lost to Russia before it. The bureaucracy were the truest pro-Germans of all.

With the fine aid of Russian portraitists, verbal and visual, as well as economists and political observers, Mr. Olgin amplifies his interpretation of the Russian revolution and its antecedents. It is impossible to read him without gratitude for his clarity, his objectivity, his documentation; and impossible not to conclude from reading him that the first fact about Russia is still the Tsardom that has been deposed. In another book Mr. Olgin may go on beyond March, 1917. Meanwhile we must infer that unless we understand Tsardom we are in no position to talk war to the Russians. The inherent Tsardom in Germany, the inherent liberty in France and England and the United States, is the lesson new Russia has yet to believe.

F. H.

According to Lodge

War Addresses, 1915-1917, by Henry Cabot Lodge. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.50.

THE speeches of the average member of Congress, published in their original form, would make a book seldom interesting, not always coherent, and often, due to the veerings which a wise regard for public opinion make necessary, quite self-contradictory. Particularly would this be the case if the collection were of speeches that discussed national interests outside our own borders. In War Addresses, however, there are gathered fifteen or twenty speeches delivered by the one member of the American Senate whose opinions on international affairs are regarded by his colleagues as most interesting, most coherent and least often self-contradictory. Throughout his long service as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations Henry Cabot Lodge has been a student of world politics. Members on both sides of the Senate regularly seek his opinion. The stand he has taken has been a factor in each international situation with which Congress has had to deal during the last three years.

To anyone whose duty it may have been to read the Congressional Record without picking his way, War Addresses at once points out Mr. Lodge's distinction from the majority of his colleagues. The style is as clear and thoughtful as if not one of the addresses had had to be made in the Senate. Nor is Mr. Lodge's point of observation the conventional one. He is free from that sense of partnership in greatness which keeps many members from appreciating the reality of their positions. He is aware that Congress has so long been used to thinking in terms of districts that a membership has been produced which is not able to think in terms of the whole. Problems of national concern will be slighted, he says, "just as long as Congressman and Senators, or any considerable number of them, think there are more votes in river and harbor appropriations and public building appropriations." Not many members of Congress would have either the courage or the good sense to say this. Mr. Lodge is willing to say that most Congressmen are the harassed attorneys for local interests, and that even more of them derive their acquaintanceship with foreign affairs exclusively from the newspapers. His collected essays are the essays of a realist in Senatorial politics. They are the work of one of the few men who have been in Congress long enough to become sophisticated without becoming trivial.

And Mr. Lodge, these collected essays show, is as good a Republican as he is realistic a politician. War Addresses explains the principle of a protective tariff; it discloses the inevitable damaging results upon business of a policy of high income taxation; it attacks the "ease and softness" of living which the Democratic party has permitted to become an American characteristic, and which, probably, is characteristic of about one American in twenty. The hazards of government ownership are pointed out—"a policy capable of no result except an increased burden to the taxpayer and grave injury to individual enterprise." This part of Mr. Lodge's doctrine, to be sure, is not a Republican monopoly. But the dangers of Democratic control are "dangers to the very quality of the nation, dangers which threaten to dim the glories of the past and destroy the hopes of the future." In War Addresses, however, it is chiefly in speeches made during the last campaign that Mr. Lodge's strongest Republicanism shows itself. And it is an established American practice to discount what our politicians say when they are appealing for votes, and to weigh only what they say when their responsibility to the electorate has for the time being vanished. But even in his campaign speeches Mr. Lodge has poise and a willingness to keep away from trivial issues.

It is, however, its discussions of the war and of what peace ought to bring which make War Addresses most interesting. For Mr. Lodge is at present ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. A gain of seven seats in the Senate by the Republicans in the next election would place Mr. Lodge at the head of the committee. If peace had not already been made, and Mr. Lodge's way of making it differed from the President's, he would be able to match a Republican Senate against the prestige of Mr. Wilson's position.

War Addresses shows that for some distance Mr. Lodge marches at the President's side. He thoroughly believes in the war; believes it was the inevitable result of a German submarine aggressive; believes its great justification to be the achievement of a more durable peace. But it is in the means by which that peace is to be secured that Mr. Lodge's disagreement with the President begins. Before our armies are ready to fight Mr. Wilson has launched an offensive. By assuring the German people that punishment, national dismemberment and a trade boycott will not be their reward for working to end the war he has begun to remove their every reason for continuing it. He is using diplomacy as a military weapon. He has already advanced into German territory by virtue of his willingness to discuss terms of peace while the fighting still continues.

It is important, as a factor in future developments, to note how Mr. Lodge's position is different. The disagreement is to be found in many parts of War Addresses. It is concentrated in Mr. Lodge's comment on the German reply to the President's "peace note" of last December. Mr. Lodge remarks: "The German reply says that the question of

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co-operation and association for the preservation of peace in the future must be relegated to the future and cannot be dealt with until after the conclusion of the peace which will bring this war to an end." Apparently, from the President's point of view, the one fact which has not already brought this war to an end is the failure of Germany responsibly to discuss—while the war is still waged—the question of co-operation and association for the preservation of peace in the future. But Mr. Lodge continues: "I think the Imperial Government takes the sensible ground which might have been anticipated."

It does not seem that Mr. Lodge's present influence, and his immensely greater influence should the Republicans control the next Senate, will be used to promote a discussion of peace terms while the war continues. That refusal to take up a weapon essential in winning a war fought for a political idea is as important as Mr. Lodge's conception of the peace that is to be won. It must be an "enduring" peace, "based on righteousness at any cost." Does that involve the establishment of an international league by its enforcement?

Mr. Lodge thinks not. In commenting upon the President's note of last December, Mr. Lodge says: "We demanded, without our mediation or good offices having been accepted, that the belligerents should state their terms, which concern them alone and not us." The interest of neutrals, an inseparable unit in the philosophy of a league to enforce peace, is thus discredited—though the terms of the belligerents were of sufficient concern to one neutral to project us into war within three months of the time Mr. Lodge spoke. In a later speech, also included in War Addresses, Mr. Lodge more specifically attacks the proposal of a league for the enforcement of peace. Replying to the President's speech before the Senate on January 22nd, Mr. Lodge speaks of a peace which will not be "a mere breathing-space filled with the upbuilding of crushing armaments and then another and a worse war." Nevertheless, he declares, that the best insurance of permanent peace is not the creation of a league in which "our military forces could be used for war by the decree of other nations," but the building up of our own "adequate national defences." That this activity, if not dedicated to international purposes, might be just another instance of "the upbuilding of crushing armaments—and then another and a worse war," does not seem to confront him as a problem. He warns against a departure from the isolation advocated by "Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Monroe." We have temporarily abandoned this isolation. Is it only to help set the world in order, and then to withdraw from the benefits and responsibilities of the new internationalism?

It is interesting to look back to a speech made by Mr. Lodge less than a year before we went to war, but, though made later than many other inclusions, not published in War Addresses. Speaking before the organization known as the League to Enforce Peace, Mr. Lodge declared that "the limit of voluntary arbitration had been reached." Much had been achieved by it. It had taken out of the field of arms many questions which once were causes, frequently of war, constantly of reprisals, and by general consent placed them before a tribunal and had them there decided. But a breakdown had come, and the world was at war. "If we have reached the limit of voluntary arbitration," asked Mr. Lodge, "what is the next step? I think the next step is that which this League proposes, and that is to put force behind international peace. We may not solve it in that way, but if we cannot solve it in that way it can be solved in no other."

Mr. Lodge's shift from advocacy of a league of nations to opposition, coming coincidentally with Mr. Wilson's new emphasis and the raising of the question as an immediate practical issue, is the most important fact that War Addresses records. In his insight into the capabilities and limitations of Congress as an organization Mr. Lodge is unconventional. He is less unconventional in his methods of attaining a certain peace, and in his distrust of domestic innovations in taxation, tariff legislation and the possible advantages of projecting the government further into business. War Addresses is an exceptional book for its directness. But it leaves the impression that Mr. Lodge is progressive where progressiveness matters least, and reactionary where the opportunity for liberalism is most bright.

C. M.

The Strolling Theatre

Portmanteau Plays, by Stuart Walker. Edited and with an introduction by Edward Hale Bierstadt. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Co.

THIS book is more than a collection of highly diverting little plays. It is the record of an astonishing experiment in the American theatre. It tells of the clever idea which struck Mr. Stuart Walker one day in the bath-tub, where so many other clever ideas have struck other clever men. And it continues to narrate how this idea was realized in a theatre unique in the world, in a repertory of plays of more consistent literary value than any other American theatre can boast, and in a company of actors distinguished from most others in this country by individual talent and smoothness of ensemble.

The Portmanteau Theatre has in the past year enjoyed a long and profitable tour. It has spent some weeks on Broadway, where it left an impression that still sticks in the memory. It has revealed several new plays of Lord Dunsany and has probably clinched his reputation here as the foremost imaginative writer of the contemporary English stage. It has done at least as much as any other experiment in this country to establish the validity of the imaginative or suggestive type of staging. Finally it has brought into notice a remarkable personality, Mr. Stuart Walker, who is equally original and expert as playwright, director and theatrical engineer.

Four of the plays which Mr. Walker himself contributed to the Portmanteau repertory are printed in this column. They seem to the reader almost too whimsical and tenuous for actual production. One of them, Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil, is a fairy tale of the small boy who saved his beautiful queen from being beheaded. Another tells of the little girl and boy who after vainly searching for a definition of the funny word "Nevertheless," see it acted out for them by an obliging burglar who executes a "nevertheless" by reforming on the stage before their very eyes. It is the chief value of this volume that it preserves the record of the novel process by which such slight pieces as these become alive in Mr. Walker's theatre under Mr. Walker's directing hand.

How the trick is turned is narrated in Mr. Bierstadt's generous introduction. The Portmanteau, he explains, is a portable stage, completely equipped for the performance of any play which does not demand excessive stage space. It can be boxed, loaded on an ordinary truck and shipped anywhere. In a few hours it can be set up in your garden, your ball-room, your lecture hall, or your Madison Square.

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It can stage a Christmas Pantomime for 5,000 people, or Gammer Gurton's Needle for fifty. It possesses a surprising lighting system, which makes possible any needed stage illumination and many magical effects, all from the electric current provided by an ordinary socket. In short, we have a new type of theatre, combining all the advantages of the strolling company of Queen Elizabeth's time with most of the advantages of the modern Broadway playhouse. Following its example, other theatres may soon be strolling about our land, for Mr. Walker's patents are doubtless available to other managers upon payment of a moderate royalty.

The Portmanteau is raised from the status of a toy to the dignity of a theatre by Mr. Walker's resourceful and creative stage direction. More completely than any other director in America he has relied upon the magic of suggestion. He believes, with Jacques Copeau, that the play creates its own illusion, that the setting can only point the suggestion and provide a pleasing decoration. Much of his scenery is simple to the point of bareness, and all of it is purely imaginative and decorative in its intent. But such conventionalism, as Mr. Walker has demonstrated, does not rob the acted play of its reality.

An audience will believe anything it is told to believe and wants to believe. In Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil the Prologue enters upon the forestage and summons the device-bearer who carries a large copper pot.

Prologue:

"This is a copper pot. (*The Device-Bearer shows it to the audience carefully.*) It is filled with boiling water. (*The Device-Bearer makes the sound of bubbling water.*) It is on the fire. See the flames. (*The Device-Bearer sets the pot in the center of the forestage and blows under it with a pair of bellows.*) And see the water boiling over. (*The Device-Bearer again makes the sound of bubbling water and then withdraws to where he can see the play from the side of the forestage.*) We are looking into the kitchen of the Boy whose mother left him alone. I do not know where she has gone, but I do know that he is gathering lentils now."

In cold print this sounds like the play-pretend of a nursery tale. But that, Mr. Walker contends, is exactly what all drama is. And in his theatre he proves his contention by making the spectator watch that pot as he would a red-hot iron, and shudder when any character goes too near it.

This illusion is in large measure achieved by the acting of the Portmanteau company. "In his directing," says Mr. Bierstadt, "Mr. Walker insists that every member of a cast shall know what the play is about. One of his chief personal exactions is that the actors shall be treated not as actors but as human beings." Moderate enough exactions, you say, and quite self-evident. Yet such methods are almost revolutionary on the commercial American stage. And they are highly fruitful. Mr. Bierstadt tells of the well known New York manager who rushed up to Mr. Walker after the first performance and eagerly exclaimed:

"Walker, where did you get that cast? I never heard of one of 'em before, but they're wonders!"

To which Mr. Walker replied sadly: "I got six of them out of your companies."

H. K. M.

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NEW YORK

Mrs. Gerould's Novel

A Change of Air, by Katharine Fullerton Gerould. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

ONE suspects Mrs. Gerould of confusing spiritual fastidiousness with its social counterfeit. Nothing, as it first appears, can escape such a connoisseur of souls. She has the air of a descendant of Henry James. But though there are frequent fine penetrations in her account of people, and a sharp wit to clinch the penetration, she has a constant tendency to substitute the values of polite society for the values that a genuine artist would discern. She is wonderfully clever, Mrs. Gerould, and she might easily be forgiven that appearance of shrinking delicacy, of holding life up by the tail, which is so readily contracted from H. James. But her bristling smartness, her complaisance, her snobbishness, are difficult traits to tolerate in a novelist of manners—for it is as a novelist of New York manners that she writes A Change of Air.

Mrs. Gerould turns an excellent inspiration to account. It is easy enough to imagine the effect of a lapful of legacies on a heterogeneous crowd of people, but the situation is given an exceedingly pretty turn by having the bounties bestowed in the lifetime of the donor, and then, by a cruel misfortune, having the donor thrown on the mercy of her own donees. To illustrate the most elusive of all spiritual traits, the trait of disinterestedness, there could not be a more amusing or more acceptable set of circumstances. It was a witty notion to adapt this idea to the present world.

But the very cleverness that marks Mrs. Gerould's con-

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ception of Cordelia Wheaton's indigent circle seems to deprive her of that human receptiveness which makes a creator free. Mrs. Gerould is too close to social and æsthetic squeamishness to realize that it is the leisure class which decides most of her cutting judgments, and not a love of life which is beyond class and especially beyond ascertained annuity. An admirer of A Change of Air may indeed object that the whole point of the story is the exposure of the entrenched ladies who are slaves to their obligations and who leave their handicapped benefactress in the lurch. There is no doubt that Mrs. Gerould is intentional in her satire of Mrs. Williston, who wants to put Cordelia in a home for aged gentlewomen; and she is equally aware of Bessie John's narrow espousal of "the twins' schooling and their advantages. Adenoids and all." Yet these disclosures of meanness are accompanied by an entirely conventional characterization of a "little rotter," Julie Fort, who squanders her principal. Walter Leaven, the dim bachelor "whose tiny annuity had enabled him to preserve, and not sell, a few priceless affections," is also conventionally outlined; and there is not much to be said for the licensed humor on puritanism and the Liberian Religious Aid. It is the occasional note of silly superciliousness, however, that creates one's conviction of Mrs. Gerould's confined attitude. "This unexplained crowd, like a prayer-meeting or a table d'hôte, was maddening." "If you can imagine a connoisseur finding a patent rocker comfortable, and having the rare audacity to admit it . . . " One stifles in a world where the accent has to be so infernally favorable to majolica and Sheraton, so sympathetic to the archness of calling a husband "Philip of my soul," so stuffy about rocking-chairs and table d'hôtes. It is a different accent from Victorianism or Greenwich Village, but equally exacting, and equally impossible to enjoy.

If Mrs. Gerould could forget her leisure class, and the tropics that are an annex to it, and spend a year working for R. H. Macy and Co. at $7.50 per week, the horizons of her fastidiousness might be broadened and its touchstone be less the habits of a class. This, in lieu of that natural emancipation of spirit which is the one essence lacking in a subtle and scrupulous art.

Recent Publications

Gulliver's Travels, by Jonathan Swift. Edited by Padraic Colum. Presented by Willy Pogany. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.00.

FIRST-CLASS editions of Gulliver are not so frequent that the merit of this attractive new volume can go unsung. In addition to an admirably clear sharp type on paper that seems to have been selected with no worry about war-time prices, the publishers have called in the services of Willy Pogany for the illustrations and decorations. The choice was a good one. For Swift is a spiritual descendant of the Rabelaisian tradition, and the droll heads that leer or scowl at you at the ends of the chapter might fittingly have been gathered around a festive drinking table in company with the redoubtable Panurge. Mr. Pogany has a quick perception of the ironically fantastic, combined with excellent draughtsmanship and a skilful color technique. Makers of books too often select illustrators on the basis of extraneous quality, so to speak, and there is even a legend that Beardsley was once asked to do the drawings for a new edition of Dickens. This volume, however, is a striking victory for good taste, and the sympathy and understanding that Mr. Pogany brings to the humor and fancy of Swift find full expression in his series of admirably comic and imaginative illustrations. Mr. Colum has "edited" the book, taking thought of the children for whom it is ever one of the world's great wonder-tales. He has also contributed a spirited introduction, that blends biography, a study of literary influences, and a straightforward interpretation into a graceful essay. He has not attempted to draw morals for the present age of strife, although he might forgivably have yielded to so compelling a temptation. He is content to quote the Duchess of Marlborough: "Tell him it is the most accurate account of kings, ministers, bishops, and courts of justice that it is possible to be writ." And if the Duchess were alive today, would she not have added, "and of war"?

The Battle of the Somme, by John Buchan. New York: George H. Doran Co. $1.50.

THE Battle of the Somme will go down in history not merely as the symbol of the final turning point in the fortunes of the Allies on the western front, as the date when the first year of defense and second year of equilibrium turned into a third year of British attack. It is that symbol, that point. Yet it is also a human accomplishment which many have forgotten—a victory of free men over a machine. When at 7:30 that first of July on a front of twenty-five miles the British poured over the parapets to expose their breasts to machine-gun bullets that snapped like flashing whips from Gommecourt, Beaumont-Hamel and Thiepval, the men who did it were volunteers. And they won. Mr. Buchan describes with great detail the successive stages of the advance, with an abundance of admirable photographs and maps. His style is simple narrative with the accent of true English restraint when he speaks of the courage of those who have fallen, "the very flower of our race, the straightest of limb, the keenest of brain, the most eager of spirit." Two appendices are added: the general report of Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief, and the report of General Sixt Von Arnim, described as "experiences of the IV German Corps in the Battle of the Somme during 1916," where the German commander shows not only that the German staff was quick to assimilate lessons in tactics, but pays his respects to the valor of his enemy. "The English infantry," he writes, "showed great dash in attack . . . and great tenacity in defense." But it was not this General who had spoken of Sir John French's "contemptible little army."

Six Months on the Italian Front, by Julius M. Price. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.50.

"ITALIAN flags seemed to blossom forth everywhere," "a galaxy of beauty and fashion," "dear old Paris," "magnificent scenery"—these are among the paleolithic phrases that give some clue to Mr. Price's helter-skelter, conventional style. It is journalistic and impressionistic in the bad sense, reading rather like the letters home of an amiable and somewhat observant Juggins abroad on an outing. Mr. Price is not a military expert, and he gives no critical estimate of strategy or tactics during the first months of Cadorna's initial offensive. Neither are his powers for catching the local color, as he would probably phrase it, especially persuasive, even when supplemented with elaborate reproductions of the paintings and sketches

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he drew for the Illustrated London News. He seems to have been something of a good fellow who got on well with his brother journalists, interpreters—he did not speak Italian—and the staff officers who piloted the party around the "safe" portions of the front. For the most part his book is made up of personal experiences in luncheons, chance encounters on the road, difficulties concerning hotel accommodations, etc.—human, trivial chat. It is really surprising that publishers should be willing to give such inconsequential gossip so impressive a format. It is a pity to waste such excellent yellowish white thick paper and fine type, when the few really great books of the war are huddled into their cramped volumes with myopic print.

Contributors

to this issue

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ is in the department of philosophy and psychology at Harvard University.

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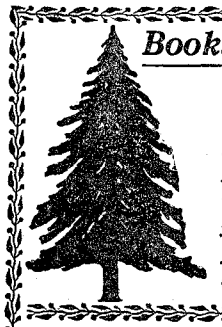

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